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OF
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WITH PROBLEMS AND EXERCISES

REPRINTED FROM
A HISTORY OF ENGLAND
FOR SCHOOLS

BY
M. W. KEATINGE, M.A.
READER IN EDUCATION IN THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD

AND
N. L. FRAZER, M.A.
HEADMASTER OF BATLEY GRAMMAR SCHOOL

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DOCUMENTS

A.D. 1715 TO 1815

231. WALPOLE AND THE COLONIES.

The King's Speech on opening the Session of Parliament,
Oct. 19, 1721. Cobbett's "Parliamentary His-
tory" (London, 1811), vii. 912-913.

1721.

MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,

. . . In this situation of affairs we should be extremely wanting to ourselves, if we neglected to improve the favourable opportunity, which this general tranquillity gives us, of extending our commerce, upon which the riches and grandeur of this nation chiefly depend. It is very obvious that nothing would more conduce to the obtaining so public a good, than to make the exportation of our own manufactures, and the importation of the commodities used in the manufacturing of them, as practicable and easy as may be; by this means, the balance of trade may be preserved in our favour, our navigation increased, and greater numbers of our poor employed.

I must therefore recommend it to you, Gentlemen of the House of Commons, to consider how far the Duties upon these branches may be taken off, and replaced, without any new violation of public faith, or laying any new burthen upon my people. And I promise myself, that by a due consideration of this matter, the produce of those duties, compared with the infinite advantages that will accrue to the kingdom by their being taken off, will be found so inconsiderable, as to leave little room for any difficulties or objections.

The supplying ourselves with Naval Stores, upon terms the most easy and least precarious, seems highly to deserve

the care and attention of parliament. Our Plantations in America naturally abound with most of the proper materials for this necessary and essential part of our trade and maritime strength; and if, by due encouragement, we could be furnished from thence with those naval stores, which we are now obliged to purchase and bring from foreign countries, it would not only greatly contribute to the riches, influence and power of this nation, but, by employing our own colonies in his useful and advantageous service, divert them from setting up, and carrying on manufactures which directly interfere with those of Great Britain.

232. PLASSEY.

Robert Clive, *Letter to the Directors of the East India Company*. Malcolm, "Memoirs of Lord Clive" (London, 1836), i. 263-266.

1757.

I gave you an account of the taking of Chandernagore; the subject of this address is an event of much higher importance, no less than the entire overthrow of Nabob Suraj-u-Dowlah, and the placing of Meer Jaffier on the throne. I intimated, in my last, how dilatory Suraj-u-Dowlah appeared in fulfilling the articles of the treaty. This disposition not only continued but increased, and we discovered that he was designing our ruin, by a conjunction with the French. To this end Monsieur Bussy was pressingly invited to come into this province, and Monsieur Law of Cossimbazar (who before had been privately entertained in his service) was ordered to return from Patna.

About this time some of his principal officers made overtures to us for dethroning him. At the head of these was Meer Jaffier, then Bukhshee to the army, a man as generally esteemed as the other was detested. As we had reason to believe this disaffection pretty general, we soon entered into engagements with Meer Jaffier to put the crown on his head. All necessary preparations being completed with the utmost secrecy, the army, consisting of about one thousand Europeans, and two thousand sepoys, with eight pieces of cannon, marched from Chandernagore on the 13th, and arrived on the 18th at Cutwa Fort, which was taken without

opposition. The 22nd, in the evening, we crossed the river, and landing on the island, marched straight for Plassey Grove, where we arrived by one in the morning. At day-break, we discovered the Nabob's army moving towards us, consisting, as we since found, of about fifteen thousand horse, and thirty-five thousand foot, with upwards of forty pieces of cannon. They approached apace, and by six began to attack with a number of heavy cannon, supported by the whole army, and continued to play on us very briskly for several hours, during which our situation was of the utmost service to us, being lodged in a large grove, with good mud banks. To succeed in an attempt on their cannon was next to impossible, as they were planted in a manner round us, and at considerable distances from each other. We therefore remained quiet in our post, in expectation of a successful attack upon their camp at night. About noon the enemy drew off their artillery, and retired to their camp, being the same which Roy Dullub had left but a few days before, and which he had fortified with a good ditch and breastwork. We immediately sent a detachment, accompanied with two field-pieces, to take possession of a tank with high banks, which was advanced about three hundred yards above our grove, and from whence the enemy had considerably annoyed us with some cannon managed by Frenchmen. This motion brought them out a second time; but on finding them make no great effort to dislodge us, we proceeded to take possession of one or two more eminences lying very near an angle of their camp, from whence, and an adjacent eminence in their possession, they kept a smart fire of musketry upon us. They made several attempts to bring out their cannon, but our advanced field-pieces played so warmly and so well upon them, that they were always drove back. Their horse exposing themselves a good deal on this occasion, many of them were killed, and among the rest four or five officers of the first distinction, by which the whole army being visibly dispirited and thrown into some confusion, we were encouraged to storm both the eminence and the angle of their camp, which were carried at the same instant, with little or no loss; though the latter was defended (exclusively of blacks) by forty

French and two pieces of cannon; and the former by a large body of blacks both foot and horse. On this, a general rout ensued, and we pursued the enemy six miles, passing upwards of forty pieces of cannon they had abandoned, with an infinite number of hackaries, and carriages filled with baggage of all kinds. Suraj-u-Dowlah escaped on a camel, and reaching Moorshedabad early next morning, despatched away what jewels and treasure he conveniently could, and he himself followed at midnight, with only two or three attendants.

It is computed there are killed of the enemy about five hundred. Our loss amounted to only twenty-two killed, and fifty wounded, and those chiefly blacks. During the warmest part of the action we observed a large body of troops hovering on our right, which proved to be our friends; but as they never discovered themselves by any signal whatsoever, we frequently fired on them to make them keep their distance. When the battle was over, they sent a congratulatory message, and encamped in our neighbourhood that night. The next morning Meer Jaffier paid me a visit, and expressed much gratitude at the service done him, assuring me, in the most solemn manner, that he would faithfully perform his engagement to the English. He then proceeded to the city, which he reached some hours before Suraj-u-Dowlah left it.

233. CLIVE UPON BRITISH POLICY IN INDIA.

CALCUTTA, 7th Jan. 1759.

Malcolm's "Life of Lord Clive."

*To the Rt. Hon. William Pitt, one of His Majesty's
Principal Secretaries of State.*

SIR,

. . . The close attention you bestow on the affairs of the British nation in general, has induced me to trouble you with a few particulars relative to India, and to lay before you an exact account of the revenues of this country, the genuineness whereof you may depend on, as it has been faithfully extracted from the minister's books.

The great revolution that has been effected here by the success of the English arms, and the vast advantages gained to the Company by a treaty concluded in consequence thereof, has, I observe, in some measure, attracted the public attention,

but much more may yet in time be done if the Company will exert themselves in the manner the importance of their present possessions and future prospects deserves. I have represented to them in the strongest terms the expediency of sending out and keeping up constantly such a force as will enable them to embrace the first opportunity of further aggrandising themselves, and I dare pronounce from a thorough knowledge of this country government and of the genius of the people acquired by two years' application and experience that such an opportunity will soon offer. The reigning Subah, whom the victory at Plassey invested with the sovereignty of these provinces, still it is true retains his attachment to us, and probably, while he has no other support, will continue to do so; but Mussulmans are so little influenced by gratitude that should he ever think it his interest to break with us, the obligations he owes us would prove no restraint. . . . Moreover, he is advanced in years, and his son is so cruel, worthless a young fellow, and so apparently an enemy of the English, that it will be almost unsafe trusting him with the succession. So small a body as two thousand Europeans will secure us against any apprehensions from either the one or the other; and in case of their daring to be troublesome, enable the Company to take the sovereignty upon themselves.

There will be the less difficulty in bringing about such an event, as the natives themselves have no attachment whatever to particular princes; and as under the present government, they have no security for their lives and properties, they would rejoice in so happy an exchange as that of a mild for a despotic government; and there is little room to doubt our obtaining the Moghul's sunnud (or grant) in confirmation thereof, provided we agreed to pay him the stipulated allotment out of the revenues, viz., fifty lacs annually. This has of late years been very ill paid, owing to the distractions in the heart of the Moghul Empire, which have disabled that Court from attending to their concerns in the distant provinces; and the Vizier has actually wrote to me desiring I would engage the Nabob to make the payments agreeable to the former usage; nay, further, application has been made to me from the Court of Delhi, to take charge of collecting this payment,

the person entrusted with which is the next person both in dignity and power to the Subah. But this high office I have been compelled to decline for the present, as I am unwilling to occasion any jealousy on the part of the Subah ; especially as I see no likelihood of the Company's providing me with a sufficient force to support properly so considerable an employ, and which would open a way for securing the Sahabship to ourselves. That this would be agreeable to the Moghul can scarcely be questioned, and it would be so much to his interest to have these countries under the dominion of a nation famed for their good faith, rather than in the hands of people who, a long experience has shown him, never will pay him his proportion of the revenues unless awed into it by the fear of the Imperial army marching to force them thereto.

But so large a sovereignty may possibly be an object too extensive for a mercantile company ; and it is to be feared they are not of themselves able, without the nation's assistance, to obtain so wide a dominion. I have, therefore, presumed Sir, to represent this matter to you and submit it to your consideration, whether the execution of a design, that may hereafter be still carried to greater length, be worthy of the government taking it into hand. I flatter myself I have made it pretty clear to you, that there will be little or no difficulty in obtaining the absolute possession of these rich kingdoms and that with the Moghul's own consent, on condition of paying him less than a fifth of the revenues thereof. Now I leave you to judge whether an income yearly of upwards of two millions sterling, with the possession of three provinces abounding in the most valuable production of nature and of art, be an object deserving the nation's attention, and whether it be worth the nation's while to take the proper measures to secure such an acquisition—an acquisition which, under the management of so able and disinterested a minister, would prove a source of immense wealth to the kingdom, and might in time be appropriated in part as a fund toward diminishing the heavy load of debt under which we at present labour. Add to these advantages the influence we shall thereby acquire over the several European nations engaged in the commerce here, which these could no longer carry on but through our

indulgence, and under such limitations as we should think fit to prescribe. It is well worthy consideration, that this project may be brought about without draining the mother country as has been too much the case with our possessions in America. A small force from home will be sufficient, as we always make sure of any number we please of black troops, who being both much better paid and treated than by the country powers, will very readily enter into our service. . . .

The greatest part of the troops belonging to this establishment are now employed in an expedition against the French in the Deccan, and by the accounts lately received from thence, I have great hopes we shall succeed in extirpating them from the province of Golconda, where they have reigned lords paramount so long, and from whence they have drawn their principal resources during the troubles upon the coast.

Notwithstanding the extraordinary effort made by the French in sending out M. Lally with a considerable force the last year, I am confident, before the end of this, they will be near their last gasp in the Carnatic, unless some very unforeseen event interpose in their favour. The superiority of our squadron, and the plenty of money and supplies of all kinds which our friends on the coast will be furnished with from this province, while the enemy are in total want of everything, without any visible means of redress, are such advantages as if properly attended to cannot fail of wholly effecting their ruin in that as well as in every part of India. . . .

Your most devoted humble servant,

ROBT. CLIVE.

234. THE BATTLE OF QUEBEC.

1759. Captain John Knox, "Historical Journal"
(London, 1769), ii. 66-79.

On board the *Sutherland*, September 12.

The enemy's force is now divided, great scarcity of provisions now in their camp, and universal discontent among the Canadians; the second Officer in command is gone to Montreal or St. John's, which gives reason to think, that General Amherst is advancing into the colony: *a vigorous*

blow struck by the army at this juncture may determine the fate of Canada. Our troops below are in readiness to join us; all the light artillery and tools are embarked at the point of Levi, and the troops will land where the French seem least to expect it. The first body that gets on shore is to march directly to the enemy, and drive them from any little post they may occupy; the Officers must be careful that the succeeding bodies do not, by any mistake, fire upon those who go on before them. The battalions must form on the upper ground with expedition, and be ready to charge whatever presents itself. When the artillery and troops are landed, a corps will be left to secure the landing-place, while the rest march on, and endeavour to bring the French and Canadians to a battle. The Officers and men will remember what their country expects from them, and what a determined body of soldiers, inured to war, is capable of doing, against five weak French battalions, mingled with disorderly peasantry. The soldiers must be attentive and obedient to their Officers, and resolute in the execution of their duty.

Thursday, September 13, 1759.

Before day-break this morning we made a descent upon the north shore, about half a quarter of a mile to the eastward of Sillery; and the light troops were fortunately, by the rapidity of the current, carried lower down, between us and Cape Diamond; we had, in this debarkation, thirty flat-bottomed boats, containing about sixteen hundred men. This was a great surprise on the enemy, who, from the natural strength of the place, did not suspect, and consequently were not prepared against, so bold an attempt. The chain of sentries, which they had posted along the summit of the heights, galled us a little, and picked off several men, and some Officers, before our light infantry got up to dislodge them. This grand enterprise was conducted, and executed with great good order and discretion; as fast as we landed, the boats put off for reinforcements, and the troops formed with much regularity: the General, with Brigadiers Monckton and Murray, were ashore with the first division. We lost no time here, but clambered up one of the steepest precipices

that can be conceived, being almost a perpendicular, and of an incredible height. As soon as we gained the summit, all was quiet, and not a shot was heard, owing to the excellent conduct of the light infantry under Colonel Howe; it was by this time clear day-light. Here we formed again, the river and the south country in our rear, our right extending to the town, our left to Sillery, and halted a few minutes. The General then detached the light troops to our left to rout the enemy from their battery, and to disable their guns, except they could be rendered serviceable to the party who were to remain there; and this service was soon performed. We then faced to the right, and marched towards the town by files, till we came to the plains of Abraham; an even piece of ground which Mr. Wolfe had made choice of, while we stood forming upon the hill. Weather showery: about six o'clock the enemy first made their appearance upon the heights, between us and the town; whereupon we halted, and wheeled to the right, whereby forming the line of battle. . . . The enemy had now likewise formed the line of battle, and got some cannon to play on us, with round and canister-shot; but what galled us most was a body of Indians and other marksmen they had concealed in the corn opposite to the front of our right wing, and a coppice that stood opposite to our centre, inclining towards our left; but the Colonel Hale, by Brigadier Monckton's orders, advanced some platoons, alternately, from the forty-seventh regiment, which, after a few rounds, obliged these skulkers to retire: we were now ordered to lie down, and remained some time in this position. About eight o'clock we had two pieces of short brass six-pounders playing on the enemy, which threw them into some confusion, and obliged them to alter their disposition, and Montcalm formed them into three large columns; about nine the two armies moved a little nearer each other. The light cavalry made a faint attempt upon our parties at the battery of Sillery, but were soon beat off, and Monsieur de Bougainville, with his troops from Cape Rouge, came down to attack the flank of our second line, hoping to penetrate there; but, by a masterly disposition of Brigadier Townshend, they were forced to desist, and the third battalion of Royal Americans

was then detached to the first ground we had formed on after we gained the heights, to preserve the communication with the beach and our boats. About ten o'clock the enemy began to advance briskly in three columns, with loud shouts and recovered arms, two of them inclining to the left of our army, and the third towards our right, firing obliquely at the two extremities of our line, from the distance of one hundred and thirty —, until they came within forty yards; which our troops withstood with the greatest intrepidity and firmness, still reserving their fire, and paying the strictest obedience to their Officers: this uncommon steadiness, together with the havoc which the grape-shot from our field-pieces made among them, threw them into some disorder, and was most critically maintained by a well-timed, regular, and heavy discharge of our small arms, such as they could no longer oppose; hereupon they gave way, and fled with precipitation, so that, by the time the cloud of smoke was vanished, our men were again loaded, and, profiting by the advantage we had over them, pursued them almost to the gates of the town, and the bridge over the little river, redoubling our fire with great eagerness, making many Officers and men prisoners. The weather cleared up, with a comfortably warm sunshine: the Highlanders chased them vigorously towards Charles's river, and the fifty-eighth to the suburb close to John's gate, until they were checked by the cannon from the two hulks; at the same time a gun, which the town had brought to bear upon us with grape-shot, galled the progress of the regiments to the right, who were likewise pursuing with equal ardour, while Colonel Hunt Walsh, by a very judicious movement, wheeled the battalions of Bragg and Kennedy to the left, and flanked the coppice where a body of the enemy made a stand, as if willing to renew the action; but a few platoons from these corps completed our victory. Then it was that Brigadier Townshend came up, called off the pursuers, ordered the whole line to dress, and recover their former ground. Our joy at this success is inexpressibly damped by the loss we sustained of one of the greatest heroes which this or any other age can boast of, — GENERAL JAMES WOLFE, who received his mortal wound, as he

was exerting himself at the head of the grenadiers of Louisbourg.

After our late worthy General, of renowned memory, was carried off wounded to the rear of the front line, he desired those who were about him to lay him down ; being asked if he would have a surgeon he replied, 'It is needless ; it is all over with me.' One of them cried out, 'They run, see how they run.' 'Who runs ?' demanded our hero with great earnestness, like a person aroused from sleep. The Officer answered, 'The Enemy, Sir ; Egad, they give way everywhere.' Thereupon the General rejoined, 'Go one of you, my lads, to Colonel Burton— ; tell him to march Webb's regiment with all speed down to Charles's river, to cut off the retreat of the fugitives from the bridge.' Then, turning on his side, he added, 'Now, be praised, I will die in peace' ; and thus expired. . . .

235. WOLFE BEFORE QUEBEC.

September 12, 1759.

Letter to Pitt. James Wolfe (1727-1759).
"Annual Register," 1759, p. 246.

The admiral and I have examined the town, with a view to a general assault ; but, after consulting with the chief engineer, who is well acquainted with the interior parts of it, and, after viewing it with the utmost attention, we found, that though the batteries of the lower town might be easily silenced by the men-of-war, yet the business of an assault would be little advanced by that, since the few passages that lead from the lower to the upper town, are carefully entrenched ; and the upper batteries cannot be affected by the ships, which must receive considerable damage from them, and from the mortars. The admiral would readily join in this, or in any other measure for the public service ; but I could not propose to him an undertaking of so dangerous a nature, and promising so little success.

To the uncommon strength of the country, the enemy have added (for the defence of the river) a great number of floating batteries and boats. By the vigilance of these, and the Indians round our different posts, it has been impossible to execute anything by surprise. We have had almost daily skirmishes with these savages, in which they are generally defeated, but not without loss on our side.

By the list of disabled officers (many of whom are of rank) you may perceive, Sir, that the army is much weakened. By the nature of the river, the most formidable part of this armament is deprived of the power of acting, yet we have almost the whole force of Canada to oppose. In this situation there is such a choice of difficulties, that I own myself at a loss how to determine. The affairs of Great Britain, I know, require the most vigorous measures; but then the courage of a handful of brave men should be exerted only where there is some hope of a favourable event. However, you may be assured, Sir, that the small part of the campaign, which remains, shall be employed (as far as I am able) for the honour of his majesty, and the interest of the nation, in which I am sure of being well seconded by the admiral, and by the generals. Happy if our efforts here can contribute to the success of his majesty's arms in any other parts of America. I have the honour to be, with the greatest respect, Sir, your most obedient and most humble servant,

J. WOLFE.

Letter to his Wife. General George Townshend (1724-1807), "Histor. MSS. Commission," Report xi. Appendix iv. p. 308.

Genl. Wolfe's health is but very bad. His generalship—in my poor opinion—is not a bit better, this only between us. He never consulted any of us till the latter end of August, so that we have nothing to answer for I hope as to the success of this campaign, which from the disposition the French have made of their force must chiefly fall to Genl. Amherst and Genl. Johnson.

God bless you, my most dear wife, my blessing to my children, my good George in particular, and thank him for his letters. I have constantly thanked God for the success in the inoculation, a most comfortable circumstance for you. Mr. Barker has been slightly wounded. Mr. Gay quite recover'd & join'd us. Our campaign is just over. I shall come back in Admiral Saunders's ship & in two months shall again belong to those I ought never to have left.—Adieu.—Your most affectionate husband, & faithful friend,

GEO. TOWNSHEND.

236. NO. 45 OF THE "NORTH BRITON."

1763.

John Wilkes (1727-1797).

The King's Speech has always been considered by the legislature, and by the public at large, as the Speech of the Minister. It has regularly, at the beginning of every session of parliament, been referred by both houses to the consideration of a committee, and has been generally canvassed with the utmost freedom, when the minister of the crown has been obnoxious to the nation. The ministers of this free country, conscious of the undoubted privileges of so spirited a people, and with the terrors of parliament before their eyes, have ever been cautious, no less with regard to the matter, than to the expressions of speeches, which they have advised the sovereign to make from the throne, at the opening of each session. They well knew, that an honest house of parliament, true to their trust, could not fail to detect the fallacious arts, or to remonstrate against the daring acts of violence, committed by any minister. The Speech at the close of the session has ever been considered as the most secure method of promulgating the favourite court creed among the vulgar ; because the parliament, which is the constitutional guardian of the liberties of the people, has in this case no opportunity of remonstrating, or of impeaching any wicked servant of the crown.

This week has given the public the most abandoned instance of ministerial effrontery ever attempted to be imposed on mankind. The minister's speech of last Tuesday, is not to be paralleled in the annals of this country. I am in doubt whether the imposition is greater on the sovereign or on the nation. Every friend of his country must lament that a prince of so many great and amiable qualities, whom England truly reveres, can be brought to give the sanction of his sacred name to the most odious measures, and to the most unjustifiable public declarations, from a throne ever renowned for truth, honour and unsullied virtue. I am sure all foreigners, especially the king of Prussia, will hold the minister in contempt and abhorrence. He has made our sovereign declare, "My expectations have been fully answered by the happy effects which the several allies of my crown have derived from this

salutary measure of the definitive Treaty. The powers at war with my good brother the King of Prussia have been induced to agree to such terms of accommodation as that great prince has approved; and the success which has attended my negotiation, has necessarily and immediately diffused the blessings of peace through every part of Europe." The infamous fallacy of this whole sentence is apparent to all mankind: for it is known, that the King of Prussia did not barely approve, but absolutely dictated, as conqueror, every article of the terms of peace. No advantage of any kind has accrued to that magnanimous prince from our negotiation, but he was basely deserted by the Scottish prime minister of England. He was known by every court in Europe to be scarcely on better terms of friendship here, than at Vienna; and he was betrayed by us in the treaty of peace. What a strain of insolence, therefore, is it in a minister to lay claim to what he is conscious all his efforts tended to prevent, and meanly to arrogate to himself a share in the fame and glory of one of the greatest princes the world has ever seen? The King of Prussia, however, has gloriously kept all his former conquests, and stipulated security for all his allies, except for the Elector of Hanover. I know in what light this great prince is considered in Europe, and in what manner he has been treated here; among other reasons, perhaps, from some contemptuous expressions he may have used of the Scot: expressions which are every day echoed by the whole body of Englishmen through the southern part of this island.

The Preliminary Articles of Peace were such as have drawn the contempt of mankind on our wretched negotiators. All our most valuable conquests were agreed to be restored, and the East India Company would have been infallibly ruined by a single article of this fallacious and baneful negotiation. No hireling of the minister has been hardy enough to dispute this; yet the minister himself has made our sovereign declare the satisfaction which he felt at the approaching re-establishment of peace upon conditions so honourable to his crown, and so beneficial to his people. As to the entire approbation of parliament, which is so vainly boasted of, the world knows how that was obtained. The large debt on the Civil List, already

above half a year in arrear, shows pretty clearly the transactions of the winter. It is, however, remarkable that the minister's speech dwells on the entire approbation given by Parliament to the Preliminary Articles which, I will venture to say, he must by this time be ashamed of; for he has been brought to confess the total want of that knowledge, accuracy and precision, by which such immense advantages both of trade and territory were sacrificed to our inveterate enemies. These gross blunders are, indeed, in some measure set right by the Definitive Treaty; yet, the most important articles, relative to cessions, commerce and the fishery, remain as they were, with respect to the French. The proud and feeble Spaniard too does not renounce, but only desists from all pretensions, which he may have formed, to the right of fishing—where? only about the island of Newfoundland—till a favourable opportunity arises of insisting on it there, as well as elsewhere.

In vain will such a minister, or the foul dregs of his power, the tools of corruption and despotism, preach up in the speech that spirit of concord, and that obedience to the laws, which is essential to good order. They have sent the spirit of discord through the land, and I will prophesy, that it will never be extinguished, but by the extinction of their power. Is the spirit of concord to go hand in hand with the PEACE and EXCISE through this nation? Is it to be expected between an insolent Exciseman, and a peer, gentleman, freeholder, or farmer whose private houses are now made liable to be entered and searched at pleasure? Gloucestershire, Herefordshire, and in general all the cyder countries, are not surely the several counties which are alluded to in the speech. The spirit of concord hath not gone forth among them; but the spirit of liberty has, and a noble opposition has been given to the wicked instruments of oppression. A nation as sensible as the English, will see that a spirit of concord, when they are oppressed, means a tame submission to injury, and that a spirit of liberty ought then to arise, and I am sure ever will, in proportion to the weight of the grievance they feel.

The Stuart line has ever been intoxicated with the slavish doctrines of the absolute, independent, unlimited power of the crown. Some of that line were so weakly advised, as to endeavour to reduce them into practice: but the English nation was too spirited to suffer the least encroachment on the ancient liberties of this kingdom. "The King of England is only the first magistrate of this country; but is invested by law with the whole executive power. He is, however, responsible to his people for the due execution of the royal functions, in the choice of ministers, etc., equally with the meanest of his subjects in his particular duty." The personal character of our present amiable sovereign makes us easy and happy that so great a power is lodged in such hands; but the favourite has given too just cause for him to escape the general odium. The prerogative of the crown is to exert the constitutional powers entrusted to it in a way, not of blind favour and partiality, but of wisdom and judgment. This is the spirit of our constitution. The people too have their prerogative, and I hope the fine words of Dryden will be engraven on our hearts—

"Freedom is the English subject's Prerogative."

237. A DEBATE ON THE "WILKES" CASE.

Horace Walpole, "Letters" (edited by P. Cunningham: London, 1857), iv. 189-192.

Sunday evening, Feb. 19th, 1764.

Happening to hear of a gentleman who sets out for Paris in two or three days, I stopped my letter, both out of prudence (pray admire me!) and from thinking that it was as well to send you at once the complete history of our Great Week. By the time you have read the preceding pages, you may, perhaps, expect to find a change in the ministry in what I am going to say. You must have a little patience; our parliamentary war, like the last war in Germany, produces very considerable battles that are not decisive. Marshal Pitt has given another great blow to the subsidiary army, but they remain masters of the field, and both sides sing *Te Deum*. I am not talking figuratively, when I assure you that bells, bonfires, and an illumination from the Monument, were prepared

in the City, in case we had had the majority. Lord Temple was so indiscreet and indecent as to have fagots ready for two bonfires, but was persuaded to lay aside the design, even before it was abortive.

It is impossible to give you the detail of so long a debate as Friday's. You will regret it the less when I tell you it was a very dull one. I never knew a day of expectation answer. The impromptus and the unexpected are ever the most shining. We love to hear ourselves talk, and yet we must be formed of adamant to be able to talk day and night on the same question for a week together. If you had seen how ill we looked, you would not have wondered we did not speak well. A company of colliers emerging from damp and darkness could not have appeared more ghastly and dirty than we did on Wednesday morning; and we had not recovered much bloom on Friday. We spent two or three hours on corrections of, and additions to, the question of pronouncing the warrant illegal, till the ministry had contracted it to fit scarce anything but the individual case of Wilkes, Pitt not opposing the amendments because Charles Yorke gave in to them; for it is wonderful what deference is paid by both sides to that house. The debate then began by Norton's moving to adjourn the consideration of the question for four months, and holding out a promise of a bill, which neither they mean, nor, for my part, should I like: I would not give prerogative so much as a definition. You are a peer, and therefore, perhaps, will hear it with patience—but think how *our* ears must have tingled, when he told us, that should we pass the resolution, and he were judge, he would mind it no more than the resolution of a drunken porter!—Had old Onslow been in the chair, I believe he would have knocked him down with the mace. He did hear of it during the debate, though not severely enough; but the town rings with it. Charles Yorke replied, and was much admired. Me he did not please; I require a little more than palliatives and sophistries. He excused the part he has taken by pleading that he had never seen the warrant till after Wilkes was taken up—yet he then pronounced the 'No. 45' a libel, and advised the commitment

of Wilkes to the Tower. If you advised me to knock a man down, would you excuse yourself by saying you had never seen the stick with which I gave the blow? Other speeches we had without end, but none good, except from Lord George Sackville, a short one from Elliot, and one from Charles Townsend, so fine that it *amazed, even from him*. Your brother had spoken with excellent sense against the corrections, and began well again in the debate, but with so much rapidity that he confounded himself first, and then was seized with such a hoarseness that he could not proceed. Pitt and George Grenville ran a match of silence, striving which should reply to the other. At last, Pitt, who had three times in the debate retired with pain, rose about three in the morning, but so languid, so exhausted, that, in his life, he never made less figure. Grenville answered him; and at five in the morning we divided. The Noes were so loud, as it admits a deeper sound than Aye, that the Speaker, . . . gave it for us. They went forth; and when I heard our side counted to the amount of 218, I did conclude we were victorious; but they returned 232. It is true we were beaten by fourteen, but we were increased by twenty-one; and no ministry could stand on so slight an advantage, if we could continue above two hundred.

We may, and probably shall, fall off: this was our strongest question—but our troops will stand fast; their hopes and views depend upon it, and their spirits are raised. But for the other side it will not be the same. The lookers-out will be strayers away, and their very subsidies will undo them. They bought two single votes that day with two peerages; Sir R. Bampfylde and Sir Charles Tynte—and so are going to light up the flame of two more county elections—and that in the west, where surely nothing was wanting but a tinder-box!

Adieu! pray tell Mr. Hume that I am ashamed to be thus writing the history of England, when he is with you!

238. BURKE ON CONCILIATION WITH THE COLONIES.

Edmund Burke (1729-1797), Works (London, 1852),
1775. vol. iii. p. 289.

I, for one, protest against compounding our demands: I declare against compounding for a poor limited sum, the

immense, ever-growing, eternal debt, which is due to generous government from protected freedom. And so may I speed in the great object I propose to you, as I think it would not only be an act of injustice, but would be the worst economy in the world, to compel the colonies to a sum certain, either in the way of ransom, or in the way of compulsory compact.

But to clear up my ideas on this subject—a revenue from America transmitted hither—do not delude yourselves—you never can receive it—no, not a shilling. We have experience that from remote countries it is not to be expected. If, when you attempted to extract revenue from Bengal, you were obliged to return in loan what you had taken in imposition, what can you expect from North America? For certainly, if ever there was a country qualified to produce wealth, it is India; or an institution fitted for the transmission, it is the East India Company. America has none of these aptitudes. If America gives you taxable objects, on which you lay your duties here, and gives you, at the same time, a surplus by a foreign sale of her commodities to pay the duties on these objects, which you tax at home, she has performed her part to the British revenue. But with regard to her own internal establishments; she may, I doubt not she will, contribute in moderation. I say in moderation; for she ought not to be permitted to exhaust herself. She ought to be reserved to a war; the weight of which, with the enemies that we are most likely to have, must be considerable in her quarter of the globe. There she may serve you and serve you essentially.

For that service, for all service, whether of revenue, trade, or empire, my trust is in her interest in the British constitution. My hold of the colonies is in the close affection which grows from common names, from kindred blood, from similar privileges and equal protection. These are ties, which, though light as air, are as strong as links of iron. Let the colonies always keep the idea of their civil rights associated with your government;—they will cling and grapple to you; and no force under heaven would be of power to tear them from their allegiance. But let it be once understood, that your government may be one thing, and their privileges another; that these two things may exist without any mutual relation; the

cement is gone; the cohesion is loosened; and everything hastens to decay and dissolution. As long as you have the wisdom to keep the sovereign authority of this country as the sanctuary of liberty, the sacred temple consecrated to our common faith, wherever the chosen race and sons of England worship freedom, they will turn their faces towards you. The more they multiply, the more friends you will have; the more ardently they love liberty, the more perfect will be their obedience. Slavery they can have anywhere. It is a weed that grows in every soil. They may have it from Spain, they may have it from Prussia. But, until you become lost to all feeling of your true interest and your natural dignity, freedom they can have from none but you. This the commodity of price, of which you have the monopoly. This is the true act of navigation, which binds to you the commerce of the colonies, and through them secures to you the wealth of the world. Deny them this participation of freedom, and you break that sole bond, which originally made, and must still preserve, the unity of the empire. Do not entertain so weak an imagination, as that your registers and your bonds, your affidavits and your sufferances, your cockets and your clearances, are what form the great securities of your commerce. Do not dream that your letters of office, and your instructions, and your suspending clauses, are the things that hold together the great contexture of this mysterious whole. These things do not make your government. Dead instruments, passive tools as they are, it is the spirit of the English communion that gives all their life and efficacy to them. It is the spirit of the English constitution, which, infused through the mighty mass, pervades, feeds, unites, invigorates, vivifies every part of the empire, even down to the minutest member.

Is it not the same virtue which does everything for us here in England? Do you imagine then, that it is the land tax act, which raises your revenue? that it is the annual vote in the committee of supply, which gives you your army? or that it is the mutiny bill, which inspires it with bravery and discipline? No! surely no! It is the love of the people; it is their attachment to their government, from the sense of the deep stake they have in such a glorious institution, which gives you

your army and your navy, and infuses into both that liberal obedience, without which your army would be a base rabble, and your navy nothing but rotten timber.

All this, I know well enough, will sound wild and chimerical to the profane herd of those vulgar and mechanical politicians, who have no place among us; a sort of people who think that nothing exists but what is gross and material; and who therefore, far from being qualified to be directors of the great movement of empire, are not fit to turn a wheel in the machine. But to men truly initiated and rightly taught, these ruling and master principles, which, in the opinion of such men as I have mentioned, have no substantial existence, are in truth everything, and all in all. Magnanimity in politics is not seldom the truest wisdom; and a great empire and little minds go ill together. If we are conscious of our situation, and glow with zeal to fill our places as becomes our station and ourselves, we ought to auspicate all our public proceedings on America, with the old warning of the Church, *Sursum corda!* We ought to elevate our minds to the greatness of that trust to which the order of Providence has called us. By adverting to the dignity of this high calling, our ancestors have turned a savage wilderness into a glorious empire: and have made the most extensive, and the only honourable conquests, not by destroying, but by promoting the wealth, the number, the happiness of the human race. Let us get an American revenue as we have got an American empire. English privileges have made it all that it is; English privileges alone will make it all it can be.

239. WILLIAM PITT, EARL OF CHATHAM, ON AMERICA.

“Correspondence of William Pitt, Earl of Chatham”
1775. (London, 1840), vi, 380–384.

I remember, some years ago, when the repeal of the stamp act was in agitation, conversing in a friendly confidence with a person of undoubted respect and authenticity on that subject; and he assured me with a certainty which his judgment and opportunity gave him, that these were the prevalent and steady principles of America—that you might destroy their towns, and cut them off from the superfluities,

perhaps the conveniences, of life ; but that they were prepared to despise your power, and would not lament their loss, whilst they have—what, my Lords ?—their woods and their liberty. The name of my authority if I am called upon, will authenticate the opinion irrefragably.

If illegal violences have been, as it is said, committed in America, prepare the way, open the door of possibility, for acknowledgment and satisfaction : but proceed not to such coercion, such proscription ; cease your indiscriminate inflictions ; amerce not thirty thousand ; oppress not three millions, for the sake of forty or fifty individuals. Such severity of injustice must for ever render incurable the wound you have already given your colonies ; you irritate them to unappeasable rancour. What though you march from town to town, and from province to province ; though you should be able to enforce a temporary and local submission, which I only suppose, not admit—how shall you be able to secure the obedience of the country you leave behind you in your progress, to grasp the dominion of eighteen hundred miles of continent, populous in numbers, possessing valour, liberty, and resistance ?

This resistance to your arbitrary system of taxation might have been foreseen : it was obvious from the nature of things, and of mankind above all, from the Whiggish spirit flourishing in that country. The spirit which now resists your taxation in America is the same which formerly opposed loans, benevolences, and ship-money, in England : the same spirit which called all England *on its legs*, and by the Bill of Rights vindicated the English constitution : the same spirit which established the great fundamental, essential maxim of your liberties, that no subject of England shall be taxed but by his own consent.

This glorious spirit of Whiggism animates three millions in America ; who prefer poverty with liberty, to gilded chains and sordid affluence ; and who will die in defence of their rights as men, as freemen. What shall oppose this spirit, aided by the congenial flame glowing in the breasts of every Whig in England, to the amount, I hope, of double the American numbers ? Ireland they have to a man. In that

country, joined as it is with the cause of the colonies, and placed at their head, the distinction I contend for is and must be observed. This country superintends and controls their trade and navigation; but they tax themselves. And this distinction between external and internal control is sacred and insurmountable; it is involved in the abstract nature of things. Property is private, individual, absolute. Trade is an extended and complicated consideration: it reaches as far as ships can sail or winds can blow: it is a great and various machine. To regulate the numberless movements of its several parts, and combine them into effect, for the good of the whole, requires the superintending wisdom and energy of the supreme power in the empire. But this supreme power has no effect towards internal taxation; for it does not exist in that relation; there is no such thing, no such idea in this constitution, as a supreme power operating upon property. Let this distinction then remain for ever ascertained; taxation is theirs, commercial regulation is ours. As an American, I would recognise to England her supreme right of regulating commerce and navigation: as an Englishman by birth and principle, I recognise to the Americans their supreme unalienable right in their property; a right which they are justified in the defence of to the last extremity. . . .

I trust it is obvious to your Lordships, that all attempts to impose servitude upon such men, to establish despotism over such a mighty continental *nation*, must be vain, must be fatal. We shall be *forced ultimately to retract*; let us retract while we can, not when we must. I say we must necessarily undo these violent oppressive acts: they must be repealed—you will repeal them; I pledge myself for it, that you will in the end repeal them: I stake my reputation on it; I will consent to be taken for an idiot, if they are not finally repealed.—Avoid, then, this humiliating, disgraceful necessity. With a dignity becoming your exalted situation, make the first advances to concord, to peace and happiness: for that is your true dignity, to act with prudence and justice. That you should first concede is obvious, from sound and rational policy. Concession comes with better grace and more salutary effect from superior power. . . .

Every motive, therefore, of justice and of policy, of dignity

and of prudence, urges you to allay the ferment in America—by a removal of your troops from Boston—by a repeal of your acts of parliament—and by demonstration of amicable dispositions towards your colonies. On the other hand, every danger and every hazard impend, to deter you from perseverance in your present ruinous measures.—Foreign war hanging over your heads by a slight and brittle thread: France and Spain watching your conduct, and waiting for the maturity of your errors; with a vigilant eye to America, and the temper of your colonies, more than to their own concerns, be they what they may.

To conclude, my Lords: If the ministers thus persevere in misadvising and misleading the King, I will not say, that they *can* alienate the affections of his subjects from his crown; but I will affirm, that they will make the crown not worth his wearing—I will not say that the King is betrayed; but I will pronounce, that the kingdom is undone.

240. BENJAMIN FRANKLIN TO DR. JOSEPH PRIESTLY IN ENGLAND.

Franklin's "Memoirs," iii. 399 (1833).

PHILADELPHIA, July 7th, 1775.

DEAR FRIEND,

The congress met at a time when all minds were so exasperated by the perfidy of General Gage and his attack on the country people that propositions for attempting an accommodation were not much relished, and it has been with difficulty that we have carried another humble petition to the crown, to give Britain one more chance, one opportunity more of recovering the friendship of the colonies; which, however, I think she has not sense enough to embrace, and so I conclude she has lost them for ever.

She has begun to burn our port towns; secure, I suppose, we shall never be able to return the outrage in kind. She may doubtless destroy them all, but if she wishes to recover our commerce, are these the probable means? She must certainly be distracted; for no tradesman out of Bedlam ever thought of increasing the number of his customers by knocking

them on the head ; or of enabling them to pay their debts by burning their houses.

If she wishes to have us as subjects, and that we should submit to her as our compound sovereign, she is now giving us such miserable specimens of her government that we shall ever detest and avoid it as a complication of robbery, murder, famine, fire and pestilence. You will have heard before this reaches you, of the treacherous conduct of General Gage to those remaining in Boston, in detaining their goods after stipulating to let them go out with their effects, on pretence that merchants' goods were not effects ; the defeat of a great body of their troops by the country people at Lexington ; some other small advantages gained in skirmishes with their troops, and the action at Bunker's Hill, in which they were twice repulsed, and the third time gained a dear victory. Enough has happened, one would think, to convince your ministers that the Americans will fight, and that this is a harder nut to crack than they imagined.

We have not yet applied to any foreign power for assistance, nor offered our commerce for their friendship. Perhaps we never may ; yet it is natural to think of it if we are pressed.

We have now an army on the establishment, which still holds yours besieged. My time was never more fully occupied. In the morning at six, I am at the committee of safety, appointed by the assembly to put the province in a state of defence ; which committee holds till near nine, when I am at the congress, and that sits till after four in the afternoon. Both these bodies proceed with the greatest unanimity, and their meetings are well attended. It will scarce be credited in Britain, that men can be as diligent with us from zeal, for the public good, as with you for thousands per annum. Such is the difference between uncorrupted new states and corrupted old ones.

Great frugality and great industry are now become fashionable here ; gentlemen who used to entertain themselves with two or three courses pride themselves now in treating with simple beef and pudding. By these means, and the stoppage of our consumptive trade with Britain, we shall be better able to pay our voluntary taxes for the support of our troops Our

savings in the article of trade amount to near five million sterling per annum.

I shall communicate your letter to Mr. Winthrop; but the camp is at Cambridge, and he has as little leisure for philosophy as myself.

Believe me ever,

B. FRANKLIN.

241. DECLARATION OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE.

July 4th, 1776. Spark's "Life of George Washington," i. 453.

When in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bonds which have connected them with one another, and to assume among the powers of the earth the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and of nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles and organising its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence indeed will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes, and accordingly all experience has shown, that mankind are most disposed to suffer while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security.

Such has been the patient sufferance of these colonies ; and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former system of government. The history of the present King of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having, in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over these States. To prove this, let facts be submitted to a candid world.

He has refused his assent to laws the most wholesome and necessary for the public good.

He has forbidden his governors to pass laws of immediate and pressing importance unless suspended in their operation till his assent should be obtained ; and when so suspended he has utterly refused to attend to them.

He has refused to pass other laws for the accommodation of large districts of people, unless those people would relinquish the right of representation in the legislature—a right inestimable to them and formidable to tyrants only.

He has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the depository of their public records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measures.

He has dissolved representatives' houses repeatedly, for opposing with manly firmness, his invasion on the rights of the people.

He refused for a long time after such dissolutions, to cause others to be elected, whereby the legislative powers, incapable of annihilation, have returned to the people at large for their exercise, the state remaining in the meantime exposed to all the dangers of invasion from without and convulsions within.

He has endeavoured to prevent the population of these States; for that purpose obstructing the laws for naturalisation of foreigners; refusing to pass others to encourage their migrations hither, and raising the conditions of new appropriations of lands.

He has obstructed the administration of justice, by refusing his assent to laws for establishing judiciary powers.

He has made judges dependent on his will alone for the tenure of their offices, and the amount and payment of their salaries.

He has erected a multitude of new offices, and sent hither swarms of officers to harass our people, and eat out their substance.

He has kept among us in times of peace, standing armies without the consent of our legislatures.

He affected to render the military independent of and superior to the civil power.

For quartering large bodies of armed troops among us.

For protecting them by a mock trial from punishment for any murders which they should commit on the inhabitants of these States.

For cutting off our trade with all parts of the world.

For imposing taxes on us without our consent.

For depriving us in many cases of trial by jury.

For transporting us beyond seas to be tried for pretended offences.

For suspending our own legislators, and declaring themselves invested with power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever.

He has abdicated government here, by declaring us out of his protection and waging war against us.

He is at this time transporting large armies of foreign mercenaries to complete the works of death, desolation and tyranny, already begun with circumstances of cruelty and perfidy scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and totally unworthy the head of a civilised nation.

He has constrained our fellow-citizens, taken captive on the high seas, to bear arms against their country, to become the executioners of their friends and brethren, or to fall themselves by their hands.

He has excited domestic insurrections amongst us, and has endeavoured to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers the merciless Indian savages, whose known rule of warfare is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes and conditions.

In every stage of these oppressions we have petitioned for redress in the most humble terms; our repeated petitions have been answered only by repeated injury. A prince whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a tyrant, is unfit to be ruler of a free people.

Nor have we been wanting in attention to our British brethren. We have warned them from time to time of attempts by their legislature to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us. We have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here, and we have conjured them, by the ties of our common kindred, to disavow these usurpations, which would inevitably interrupt our connections and correspondence. They too have been deaf to the voice of justice and consanguinity. We must therefore acquiesce in the necessity which denounces our separation, and hold them, as we hold the rest of mankind, enemies in war, in peace, friends.

We, therefore, the representatives of the United States of America, in general Congress assembled, appealing to the supreme judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do in the name and by authority of the good people of these colonies, solemnly publish and declare, that these united colonies are, and of right ought to be, Free and Independent States; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British Crown, and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved; and that as Free and Independent States, they have full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, and to do all other acts and things, which Independent States may of right do. And for the support of this declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honour.

242. EXTRACT FROM WASHINGTON'S ORDERLY BOOK.

Spark's "Life of George Washington,"
ii. 347.

August 23rd, 1776.

The enemy have now landed on Long Island, and the hour is fast approaching on which the honour and success of this army and the safety of our bleeding country will depend. Remember, officers and soldiers, that you are freemen, fighting for the blessings of liberty; that slavery will be your portion, and that of your posterity if you do not acquit yourselves like men. Remember how your courage and spirit have been

traduced by your cruel invaders ; though they have found by dear experience at Boston, Charlestown, and other places, what a few brave men contending in their land and in the best of causes, can do against hirelings and mercenaries. Be cool but determined ; do not fire at a distance, but wait for orders from your officers. It is the General's express orders that if any man attempt to skulk, lie down or retreat without orders, he be instantly shot down as an example. He hopes no such will be found in this army ; but on the contrary, that every one for himself resolving to conquer or die, and trusting in the smiles of heaven upon so good a cause, will behave with bravery and resolution. Those who are distinguished for their gallantry and good conduct may depend on being honourably noticed and suitably rewarded ; and if this army will but emulate and imitate their brave countrymen in other parts of America, he has no doubt they will by a glorious victory save their country, and acquire to themselves immortal honour.

243. WARREN HASTINGS ON HIS COUNCIL.

Minute to his Council. "Selections from State Papers" (ed. G. W. Forrest : Calcutta, 1890), vol. ii. p. 711.
1780.

Why Mr. Wheler has thus repeatedly chosen to join his name to Mr. Francis's in the minute lately delivered to them by the Board, I can neither conjecture, nor seek to know. I can easily conceive Mr. Francis's intention in obtaining this association. But as the rectitude of these acts in Mr. Francis is to be judged upon very different principles from those in which he has a common concern with Mr. Wheler, I shall consider them solely as his, and reply to them accordingly. Indeed I have no doubt of their being all the entire composition of Mr. Francis. They are not the less his by this apparent division of the property ; and his name affixed to them gives me the right of regarding them as entirely his.

I did hope that the intimation conveyed in my last minute would have awakened in Mr. Francis's breast, if it were susceptible of such sensations, a consciousness of the faithless part which he was acting towards me. I have been disappointed,

and must now assume a plainer style and a louder tone. In a word, my objections do not lie to the special matter of his minutes, to which I shall separately reply, but to the spirit of opposition which dictated them. I have lately offered various plans for the operations of the war. These have been successively rejected as I have successively amended and endeavoured to accommodate them to Mr. Francis's objections. I had a right to his implicit acquiescence. I have lastly proposed a service requiring immediate execution, and I have freed it from the only objection formally made to it.

In answer, he says that he adheres to the reasons which had before induced him to withhold his consent, and composedly invites me to lay before the Board a complete detail of the plan for conducting the war, a comparative state of the whole of the object with the whole of the means of attaining it, and the final extent of my demands on the Mahrattas, or what concession I would make to them : and he promises to enter into the consideration of these points with the utmost candour. If his design in this inquiry was simply to gain information, I might refer him to the large and confidential discussions in which I have laid all my views open to him, with all the grounds on which they were formed. If his purpose was to enable him to form a more clear or competent judgment of the plans which I have proposed, its object would be lost in the time required for the deliberation. But in truth I do not trust to his promise of candour, convinced that he is incapable of it, and that his sole purpose and wish are to embarrass and defeat every measure which I may undertake or which may tend even to promote the public interests, if my credit is connected with them. Such has been the tendency, and such the manifest spirit of all his actions from the beginning. Almost every measure proposed by me has for that reason had his opposition to it. When carried against his opposition, and too far engaged to be withdrawn, yet even then and in every stage of it, his labours to overcome it have been unremitting ; every disappointment and misfortune have been aggravated by him, and every fabricated tale of armies devoted to famine or to massacre have found their first and ready way to his office, where it was known they would meet the most welcome reception. To the same design

may be attributed the annual computations of declining finances and an exhausted treasury ; computations which though made in the time of abundance must verge to truth at last, from the effect of a discordant government, not a constitutional decay. To the same design shall I attribute the policy of accelerating the boded event, and creating an artificial want, by keeping up an useless hoard of treasure, and withholding it from a temporary circulation.

I am aware of the answer which will be made to these imputations and I will anticipate it. *Mr. Francis may safely deny them, for they are incapable of positive evidence. He may complain of the injustice or indecency of assuming the interpretation of his thoughts, and assigning intentions to him, upon the reality of which he alone can pronounce with certainty. He may claim an equal right to recriminate upon me, and to pass the same free judgment upon the motives which have influenced my public actions. Against such conclusions I trust that my character will be sufficient to defend me, unless some known instance of it can be produced as a warrant for them, and such I am certain do not exist, either known or unknown.

My authority for the opinions which I have declared concerning Mr. Francis depends upon facts which have passed within my own certain knowledge. I judge of his public conduct by my experience of his private, which I have found to be void of truth and honour. This is a severe charge, but temperately and deliberately made, from the firm persuasion that I owe this justice to the public and to myself, as the only redress to both, for artifices for which I have been a victim, and which threaten to involve their interests with disgrace and ruin. The only redress for a fraud for which the law has made no provisions is the exposure of it. I proceed to the proofs of my allegation.

In the latter end of the month of February last Mr. Francis concluded with me an engagement of which one Article alone is necessary to the present occasion. It is as follows :

“Mr. Francis will not oppose any measures which the Governor-General shall recommend for the prosecution of the war in which we are supposed to be engaged with the Mah-rattas, or for the general support of the present political

system of this Government. Neither will he himself either propose, or vote with any other member who shall propose, any measure that shall be contrary to the Governor-General's opinion on these points."

By the sanction of this engagement, and the liberal professions which accompanied it, I was seduced to part with the friend to whose generous and honourable support steadfastly yielded in a course of six years, I am indebted for the existence of the little power which I have ever possessed in that long and disgraceful period, to throw myself on the mercy of Mr. Francis, and on the desperate hazard of his integrity. It was impossible to afford a stronger demonstration of the good faith with which I entered into this accommodation, nor of my confidence in his, than thus consenting to deprive myself of the means of breaking the engagement on my part, and of preventing the breach of it on his: and surely this difference in our relative situations ought to have impressed him with a sense of what he owed to the delicacy attending it, and have made him dread even an approach towards the precise line of his obligations, by the slightest advantage taken of my inability to repel it: and how much more ought it to have restrained him from the direct transgression of it!

I must now revert to the Article of Mr. Francis's engagement which I have recited above, and to the minutes lately delivered to the Board under the signatures of Messieurs Francis and Wheler. On these I rest the proofs which I have promised of the charge herein preferred against Mr. Francis.

If it shall appear on a fair comparison of these evidences that Mr. Francis has faithfully adhered to his engagements, I have wrongfully accused him. If on the contrary, it shall appear that in violation of these engagements he has opposed any measures which I have recommended for the prosecution of the war in which we are engaged with the Mahrattas, or for the general support of the present political system of this Government, or that he has either himself proposed or joined with another member in proposing a measure contrary to my opinion on these points, my charge is established. I wish to avoid a repetition of the terms of it.

WARREN HASTINGS.

244. AN OFFICIAL RETROSPECT OF THE WAR WITH
AMERICA.

King's Speech on opening the Session, December 5, 1782.

1782. "Parliamentary History," xxiii. 204-207 (London,
1814).

MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,

Since the close of the last session, I have employed my whole time in that care and attention which the important and critical conjuncture of affairs required of me.

I lost no time in giving the necessary orders to prohibit the further prosecution of offensive war upon the continent of North America. Adopting, as my inclination will always lead me to do, with decision and effect, whatever I collect to be the sense of my parliament and my people; I have pointed all my views and measures, as well in Europe as in North America, to an entire and cordial reconciliation with those colonies.

Finding it indispensable to the attainment of this object, I did not hesitate to go the full length of the powers vested in me, and offered to declare them free and independent states, by an article to be inserted in the treaty of peace. Provisional articles are agreed upon, to take effect whenever terms of peace shall be finally settled with the court of France.

In thus admitting their separation from the crown of these kingdoms, I have sacrificed every consideration of my own, to the wishes and opinion of my people. I make it my humble and earnest prayer to Almighty God, that Great Britain may not feel the evils which might result from so great a dismemberment of the empire; and, that America may be free from those calamities, which have formerly proved in the mother country how essential monarchy is to the enjoyment of constitutional liberty. Religion—language—interest—affections may, and I hope will yet prove a bond of permanent union between the two countries: to this end, neither attention nor disposition on my part, shall be wanting. . . .

245. A CRITICISM OF THE ENGLISH POLICY IN INDIA.

Joseph Price, "The Saddle put on the Right Horse,"
1783. 7, 8, 47, 48 (London, 1783).

The first taste of fame and conquest, which the English officers enjoyed in India, happened on the coast of Coromandel, where the great Clive, and his able master in the art of war, Major-General Lawrence, made the English name terrible. This was soon after followed by the conquest of all the forts and harbours of the pirate Angria, on the Malabar coast. Yet we made conquests rather as auxiliaries, than as principals in the wars; for the Nabobs of Arcot enjoyed the advantages of the first, and the Poonah Mahrattas of the last. Some prize money was made, but no territory held, which produced any thing further than some advantages in trade; and a few districts pawned or pledged to us, for certain sums advanced, the revenue of which was to reimburse the Company for the expenses of the war. Perhaps it would have been as well, if we could have tied ourselves down always to have acted in the same manner, and never lost sight of our first profession of merchants. But armies once raised must be paid; and the sword once drawn, no man hath hitherto been able to foretel, when, or how, it should again become sheathed, in any period of time, or in any part of the world. . . .

There has been something extremely singular and ridiculous, in the whole conduct of the English government, with respect to Bengal. If ever the national banner was displayed in a just and honourable war, that with Surajah ul Dowlah was such; and by the law of nations, to retain conquests acquired in such a war, has hitherto been deemed lawful and right. But the English seem to have been terrified at the idea of their own success. They conquer a country in self-defence, which they hesitate to keep, and want resolution to give up. Create a Nabob, to whom they give a kingdom, and become themselves his pensioners; but finding their idol a compound of tyrannic knave, and despicable fool, they make him a pensioner in his turn, to his son-in-law, Cossim Ally Cawn; but soon after finding Cossim to be all knave without

a particle of fool in his composition, they wish his removal. But had he not been a most dastardly coward, he would have convinced his makers, that he could do without them, and have driven them out of the kingdom to the south, instead of suffering them to drive him to the north. Embarrassed by their own policy, they saw no remedy, but again to fall down and worship the old calf which they had a second time set up. Meer Jaffier died, and they recognised their sovereign in his second son: and things were running on in the old absurd channel of a double government, when Lord Clive arrived, who reversed the system; instead of continuing the Company pensioners to the Nabob, he made the Nabob a pensioner to the Company. The power now was all their own; but they wanted to hide it from the world, so played the Nabob off as the Punch of the puppet show. This absurd policy, I have heard, was dictated to Lord Clive by the *Ministry*, to avoid involving the nation in disputes with the other European powers whose subjects were settled in Bengal.

246. LETTER FROM COLONEL CHAMPION TO MR. HASTINGS,
DATED BISOULLEE, MARCH 10, 1774.

Quoted by C. J. Fox, "Speeches," iii. 229.

[Colonel Champion was discontented because Hastings had not given him as much political power as he considered his due, and refused him the rank of brigadier-general.]

DEAR SIR,—I have the pleasure to send you a short address for the board requesting permission to repair to the presidency, and to beg you will not fail to present it as soon as credible accounts shall arrive of any officer being on the way to Bengal to take the command of the army. Not only do I wish to get down as soon as possible, to put my little affairs in the best order for my return to Europe, but I must be candid enough to unbosom myself to you and confess that the nature of the service and the terms on which I have been employed in this campaign has been inexpressibly disagreeable. The authority given to the vizier over our army has totally absorbed the degree of consequence due to my station. My hands have

been tied up from giving protection or asylum to the miserable. I have a deaf ear to the lamentable case of the widow and fatherless, and shut my eyes against a wanton display of violence and oppression, of inhumanity and cruelty. The Company's interest compelled me, in public, to stifle the workings of my feelings, but I must give them vent in private. Though we had no active part in these base proceedings, yet it is well known that the success of our arms gave him the power of committing these enormities, and I much fear that our being even silent spectators of such deeds, will redound to the dishonour of our nation and impress all Hindustan with the most unfavourable opinion of our government. . . . I wish, my friend, to leave scenes which no one but the merciless rajah can bear without heart-bleeding pain. Relieve me therefore as soon as possible and oblige, dear sir, etc.,

A. CHAMPION.

227. WARREN HASTINGS TO HIS WIFE.

Calcutta, January 21, 1784. Grier, "Letters of Warren Hastings to his Wife," pp. 210, 298.

[Written in anticipation of his resignation.]

I have fulfilled every obligation which I owed to the service and done more than almost any other man against such inducements as I have had to restrain me would have done. But, my Marian, do not entertain hopes of improvement in my fortune. If your love for me is, as I am sure it is, superior to every other wish, you must be content to receive your husband again without other expectations, poor in cash, but rich in credit (at least he hopes so) and in affection unexampled.

LUCKNOW, August 13, 1784.

My whole life has been a sacrifice of my private ease and interests to my public duty; and this requisition may come to me in such a form as to have the force of an obligation. . . . I am thwarted in everything that I undertake by the Members of Council, who do nothing themselves to compensate for what they disable me from performing. I could not stay another year linked with such associates without the certain loss of reputation and the risk of worse.

248. E. BURKE ON THE ROHILLA CHARGE.

June 1, 1786. "Speeches of the Rt. Hon. E. Burke," iii. 251.

As to the charges themselves, excepting in some few points the facts which they contained had been admitted by Mr. Hastings at their bar, in what he had called his defence, but which he had couched and delivered rather in the style of their master than that of the person they were accusing of high crimes and misdemeanours. He read a passage from Mr. Hastings' defence against the charge relative to the transactions at Benares, and dwelt on it as an express avowal of a system of despotism and arbitrary power which Mr. Hastings declared he had uniformly made the rule of his conduct. It was repugnant to any principle of government that he had ever heard of, and most especially when the constitution of the superintending government was free. Mischiefs must necessarily arise from subordinate directors of provinces exercising arbitrary and despotic authority; and highly reproachable indeed was Mr. Hastings' rapacity after money: it was one of the prominent features of his government: and although he had told this house when at the bar that he went out to India with his education but half finished, it was plain he had completed it in Bengal upon the true Indian system. Nor was his unlawful taking of money singly a crime in his mind; but Mr. Hastings having always contrived to make the India Company a party in his rapacious proceedings, was a very great aggravation of it, inasmuch as it cast an odium on the national character, by making a private vice appear to be ascribable to a public feeling. With respect to the circumstances immediately precedent to the commencement of the Rohilla war, during its conduct and progress and subsequent to its conclusion, he felt it necessary to observe that had Mr. Hastings so conducted his government as to leave a country which he found rich and fertile, increased in its cultivation and produce; had he left it to its venerable nobles in possession of their ancient honours and fortunes; its merchants in the pursuit of an improved and advantageous commerce, productive of a still more enlarged return of wealth and usury upon their capital; had he employed its husbandmen in carrying

their victorious ploughshares into deserts and woods and in warring against that destruction, solitude and famine which warred against mankind ; he would in that case have said to the Governor-General: "I inquire not into your particular conduct ; I am satisfied with the result. I want not to know whether you made two or three or five hundred thousand pounds ; keep what you have got : you have made a numerous people rich and happy ; you have increased the commerce of the country, enlarged its means of wealth and improved its revenues ; in so doing you have reflected glory and honour on the character of the British nation." Just such a people had the Rohillas been previous to their extermination ; but, alas ! they were now banished and their country is no longer that luxuriant garden which every spot of it had been before the Rohilla war. He gave a history of the origin and life of Sujah Dowlah and Cossim Ally Khan and entered into an ample statement of the affair of Nundcomar, and of all the facts contained in the charge ; remarking that Sir Robert Barker had been offered £500,000 and the remission of an annuity of £250,000 due from the Company before Mr. Hastings came out, only for employing the British Brigade in the conquest of a small part of the Rohillas belonging to Haffez Ramet ; and that Mr. Hastings had undertaken to extirpate the whole nation or tribe for £400,000.

249. C. J. FOX ON THE ROHILLA CHARGE.

June 1, 1786. "Speeches of the Rt. Hon. C. J. Fox," iii. 224.

As for this war of the Rohillas, it has appeared to all the world so wholly unjustifiable, that there has not been found among any set of men any person that could defend it. If it shall be supported by a British House of Commons, it will be the greatest misfortune that can befall this nation.

The determination of this night will be attended to by all Europe. The nations around us will form upon it their future measures with regard to their powers in India ; and may justly presage the total loss of all confidence in the justice of this nation in that part of the world. What must be thought by our government in India. The rule held out to them they

must no doubt consider as that by which they are in future to direct their conduct.

It was said that if we guaranteed Sujah Dowlah we ought to follow him to the extent of what he proposed, and that there was no medium between forfeiting our task as guarantees and joining with him in the destruction of the Rohillas. This is indeed horrid policy! Instead of acting the part of an equitable umpire and mediator, what is it but to countenance and assist barbarous vengeance and rapacity? . . .

If anything similar to this of which we are speaking were to happen in Europe, how great would be the cry against it. If Great Britain were to guarantee a truce between the Emperor and the Dutch in which they stipulated to pay a certain sum of money to the Emperor and afterwards were to refuse to perform this, we ought, according to this reasoning, to join with the Emperor in the complete conquest of Holland. A noble lord (Malgrave) has indeed most sagaciously asked, what in such a situation is a Governor of India to do; is he to consult Puffendorf and Grotius? No. But I will tell him what he is to consult—the laws of nature—not the statutes to be found in those books, nor in any books—but those laws which are to be found in Europe, Africa, and Asia—that are found amongst all mankind, those principles of equity and humanity implanted in our hearts which have their existence in the feelings of mankind that are capable of judging.

I have compared the conquest of the Dutch to the case of the Rohillas, but it was more than a conquest. The word extermination has been used; but if the meaning of it be that every man, woman and child was put to death, Mr. Hastings is not guilty of so enormous a crime. Suffer me to make use of an example that may come home more to your feelings; and that is with regard to Ireland. The English are not above one-ninth of the inhabitants of that country, but they possess all the power, together with the greater part of the property and landed estates of it. Were a French army to come and take possession of Ireland and say to the English, "You are a set of robbers, those lands do not belong to you; you are usurpers and you came here under the greatest usurper in the world" (for I believe that most of the English families

settled in Ireland in the time of Oliver Cromwell)—what difference would there be in an act of that kind and what has been done to the Rohillas? Only this—the Rohillas had been in possession fifty years and the English one hundred and fifty. No one, I believe, will think that the time could make any material difference; but if this was done by an enemy it could only be done under the pretence of restoring the country to its ancient masters. With regard to the Rohillas, this is not the case—in other respects the case would not be dissimilar. If all the English were extirpated from Ireland, the manufacturers, the ploughmen, and the labourers would still be left, but I believe no one would say that there would not be great hardship in such case, great injustice, great cruelty. . . .

A great deal of argument has been made use of with regard to the guarantee, it is said, we entered into. I own I think very differently from most people on this particular point. I think it necessary to consider first if the agreement was a guarantee: I think not.

Hastings was guilty, if it was no guarantee; if it was one I think he is most guilty. But it was no guarantee. Sir Robert Barker, who signed the treaty alluded to, had no powers for this purpose. He himself thought it no guarantee. The Board thought it no guarantee. In truth they could not enter into one, not even Mr. Hastings himself, without contradicting in the most express manner the very opinions he was at that time strongly expressing to be the directors of his conduct.

250. INDUSTRIES AND PRICES IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

Arthur Young, "A Six Weeks' Tour through the Southern Counties of England and Wales,"
p. 130 (London, 1769).

Witney is very famous for its woollen manufactory, which consists of what they call kersey pieces, coarse bear skins, and blankets. The two first they make for the North American market; vast quantities being sent up the river St. Lawrence and likewise to New York. Their finest blankets, which rise in price to £3 a pair, are exported to Spain and Portugal; but all are sent to London first, in broad-wheel waggons, of

which four or five go every week. The finest wools they work come from Herefordshire and Worcestershire, and sell from 8d. to 10d. a pound. The coarsest from *Lincolnshire*; they call it daglodes; they sell for $4\frac{1}{2}$ d. *per lb.*, and are used for making the coarse bear skins. There are above 500 weavers in this town who work up 7000 packs of wool annually. Journeymen, in general on an average, can earn from 10s. to 12s. a week all the year round, both summer and winter; but they work from four to eight, and in winter by candle-light; the work is of that nature that a boy, of fourteen earns as much as a man. One of seven or eight earns by quilling and cornering 1s. 6d. and 1s. 8d. a week, and girls the same. Old women of sixty and seventy earn 6d. a day in picking and sorting the wool; a good stout woman can earn from 10d. to 1s. a day by spinning, and a girl of fourteen 4d. or 5d.

251. CLOTH MANUFACTURE IN THE WEST RIDING.

Arthur Young, "A Six Months' Tour through the North of England," vol. i. p. 131 (London, 1771).

The country between Wakefield and Leeds continues very beautiful; but the roads stony and very ill-made. At this town, but more in the neighbourhood, is carried on a vast manufacturing trade; Leeds cloth market is well known, and has often been described. They make chiefly broad cloths from 1s. 8d. a yard to 12s., but mostly of 4s. 6d. and 5s. Good hands at this branch would earn about 10s. 6d. a week the year round, if they were fully employed; but as it is, cannot make above 8s. This difference of 2s. 6d. is a melancholy consideration. A boy of thirteen or fourteen, about 4s. a week; some women earn by weaving as much as the men. The men at what they call the offal work, which is the inferior branches, such as picking, rinting, etc., are paid 1d. an hour. . . . The spinning trade is constant, women earn about 2s. 6d. or 3s. a week. Girls of thirteen or fourteen earn 1s. 8d. a week. A boy of eight or nine at ditto $2\frac{1}{2}$ d. a day; of six years old 1d. a day. The business of this town flourished greatly during the war, but sunk much at the peace, and continued very languid till within these two years, when it began to rise again.

PROVISIONS, ETC.

Much oat bread eat, 10 or 11 ounces for 1d.	
Butter	8d. per lb., 18 or 19 ounces.
Cheese	4d.
Mutton	4d.
Beef	4d.
Milk, a pint in summer $\frac{1}{2}$ d., in winter $1\frac{1}{2}$ d. and 1d.	
Manufacturer's house rent,	4os.
Their firing	2os.

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252. COAL-MINING AND IRON MANUFACTURE.

Young, "A Six Months' Tour," vol. iii. p. 8.

The people employed in the coal mines are prodigiously numerous, amounting to many thousands; the earnings of the men are from 1s. to 4s. a day and their firing. The coal-waggon roads, from the pits to the water, are great works, carried over all sorts of inequalities of ground, so far as the distance of nine or ten miles. The tracks of the wheels are marked with pieces of timber let into the road, for the wheels of the waggons to run on, by which means one horse is enabled to draw, and that with ease, fifty or sixty bushels of coal. There are many other branches of business that have much carriage in a regular track, that greatly want this improvement, which tends so considerably to the lowering the expenses of carriage.

About five miles from Newcastle are the iron works, . . . supposed to be among the greatest manufactories of the kind in Europe. Several hundred hands are employed in it, in so much that £20,000 a year is paid in wages. They earn from 1s. to 2s. 6d. a day, and some of the foremen so high as £200 a year. The quantity of iron they work up is very great, employing three ships to the Baltic, that each makes ten voyages yearly, and brings seventy ton at a time.

. . . In general their work is for exportation, and are employed very considerably by the East India Company: they have of late had a prodigious artillery demand from that Company.

During the war their business was extremely great; it was

worse upon the peace ; but for anchors and mooring chains the demand these last seven or eight years has been very regular and spirited. Their business, however, for some time past, has not been equal to what it was in the war.

253. THE SUPPLY OF TIMBER.

Rev. A. Young, "General View of the Agriculture of the County of Sussex," p. 84 (London, 1793).

Sussex has long been celebrated for the growth of its timber, principally oak. No other county can equal it in this respect, either in quantity or quality. It overspreads the Weald in every direction, where it flourishes with a great degree of luxuriance. . . . Large quantities of beech are raised upon the chalk hills, which tree also flourishes in great perfection. The great demand for oak bark has, of late years, been the cause of the large falls of oak, which has, in consequence of the high price of bark, risen so amazingly, that the fee simple of extensive and well-wooded tracks, has been paid by the fall of timber and underwood in two or three years. Upon some estates in the western part of the county, the value of oak has increased 100 per cent. in twelve years. When to this amazing increase in the value of wood is added the more easy communication to seaports than formerly from the improvements which have taken place in the roads, it is not surprising that the late falls have been so large, and that greater supplies have been brought to the dockyards than the country will be able in future permanently to supply. The quantity now standing, of a size fit for the Royal Navy, compared to what it has been within half a century, is inconsiderable, and as there is no regular succession in reserve, it must follow that the supply will annually grow less.

254. AGRICULTURAL WAGES AND PRICES.

"General View," p. 88.

The price of labour in Sussex is according to the situation. The standard price is much lower on the western side of the county than on the eastern. Here within half a century it has advanced full 30 per cent.

A table of the average prices of labour and provisions in Sussex is subjoined.

	£	s.	d.
In Winter	0	1	5
„ Summer	0	1	9
„ Harvest	0	2	4 $\frac{3}{4}$
Reaping Wheat	0	8	5 $\frac{1}{4}$
„ Oats	0	1	8 $\frac{3}{4}$
„ Barley	0	1	8 $\frac{3}{4}$
„ Peas	0	3	1 $\frac{3}{4}$
Mowing Grain	0	2	2 $\frac{3}{4}$
„ Clover	0	1	6 $\frac{3}{4}$
Hoeing Turnips	0	6	0 $\frac{1}{4}$
Threshing Wheat	0	2	7 $\frac{1}{2}$
„ Barley	0	1	6 $\frac{1}{4}$
„ Oats	0	1	2
„ Peas	0	1	9 $\frac{3}{4}$
Women in Winter	0	0	6 $\frac{1}{2}$
„ Summer	0	0	7 $\frac{1}{2}$
„ Harvest	0	0	10
Yearly Earnings	28	8	10 $\frac{1}{2}$
Rent of Cottage	2	16	1

The reaping, mowing, hoeing by the acre, threshing by the quarter.

Table of the Average Price of Provisions, etc., in Sussex, 1793

	£	s.	d.
Flour per gallon	0	0	11 $\frac{3}{4}$
Peck loaf	0	1	1 $\frac{3}{4}$
Cheese per lb.	0	0	6
Butter per lb.	0	0	8 $\frac{3}{4}$
Pork per lb.	0	0	7 $\frac{1}{2}$
Bacon per lb.	0	0	7
Malt per bushel	0	6	4 $\frac{1}{2}$
Brush faggots per load (i.e. 100 faggots)	1	0	8
Potatoes per bushel	0	1	6
Cord wood	1	0	8

255. WAGES IN 1795.

Sir F. Eden, "The State of the Poor," vol. i. pp. 571,
572, 574 (London, 1797).

Northumberland.

About 60 years ago, reapers, in this county, received 4d. a day and victuals; 40 years ago, they received 6d. a day, and diet; these wages continued for several years much the same. A. Young, in his *Northern Tour*, states agricultural wages to have been, 30 years ago, from 5s. 2d. to 8s. 9d.—(Lett. xxxi.). Wages kept advancing, irregularly, till last year, when they were generally 2s. a day, without victuals. An old tailor in the neighbourhood of Morpeth, who is now upwards of 90, says, that when he was between 20 and 30 years of age, 4d. per day were the common wages for men in his line of business, with diet: that, a few years afterwards, they rose to 6d., which were the highest day-wages he ever took for sewing: common tailors in Morpeth now receive 1s. a day, and their victuals. He adds, that although the usual day's pay for a reaper, when he was young, was 4d., he and a partner, being remarkably good reapers, demanded 6d. the day, which their employer at last agreed to give, although his wife grumbled at what she thought was extravagance: however to reconcile matters, the tailor proposed that he and his partner should do as much work in a day as three of the farmer's best reapers usually performed; which was assented to. Common labourers, 60 years ago, barely received 4d. a day, and victuals: they have now 10s. a week, with a house and fuel, but no board. Spinners of wool, 30 years ago, had 2d. a day and board: they have now 4d. a day, and victuals. About 50 years ago, they only received 9d. a week and diet. Women, working in the fields, as weeders, etc., 30 years ago had 4d. a day, without diet: they have now double that sum. Masons, in Newcastle, 40 years ago, were paid 1s. 4d. and 1s. 6d. a day: they now receive 2s. 6d. and 2s. 9d. A mason's labourer, 40 years ago, had 1s.; he has now 1s. 6d. a day.

Oxfordshire.

Nuneham.—The ordinary wages of labourers are: for men, 8s. the week; and 12s. the week in harvest, together with three

pints of beer : women, in common, have 3s. the week ; and 6s. in harvest : children, above 9 years of age, can earn from 1s. to 3s. the week. Men, by ordinary work, can earn from 10s. to 12s. the week ; and from 16s. to 18s. in harvest. Each cottage has a small garden, which supplies the family with potatoes. A considerable quantity is also distributed among the poor, every winter, by Lord Harcourt. He likewise allows such families as behave well, a guinea a year for every fourth child, till the child is ten years old ; and when it goes to service, some clothes are usually given. Poor families are also enabled to send their children to school, without any expense : and various other charities are bestowed by Lord and Lady Harcourt on the parish. Every parishioner is allowed to purchase flour, one-third of barley, and two-thirds of wheat at 7d. the quarter-loaf ; and to buy at this price as many half-peck loaves, every week, as there are persons in the family. Such flour, as the above, is sold them at 2s. 4d. the peck : potatoes cost 2s. the bushel ; bacon, 9d. the lb. ; and meat, 5d. the lb.

Yorkshire.

East Riding—Neighbourhood of Hornsey.—Common wages with diet, from Martinmas to Lady-day, 5s. the week ; ditto, from Lady-day to Midsummer, 6s. ; ditto, from Midsummer to Michaelmas, 9s. ; ditto, from Michaelmas to Martinmas, 6s. Common wages, without diet, 9s. the week, in winter ; and 12s. in summer. In harvest, men receive 12s. and 14s. the week, and victuals ; and women 6s. and 7s. the week, with beer, but no meat. There is very constant employment in the winter. The labourers are, in general, supplied by their employers with corn, etc., much below the market price. The rents of cottages vary according to the quantity of land annexed ; and are from £1 to £1 10s. Many of the cottages on this coast are miserable hovels ; built of mud and straw. Such habitations are sometimes granted by the parish to poor families ; and sometimes the parishes supply their poor inhabitants with fuel. Many cottagers cultivate potatoes in their garths and gardens : some have a pig ; and a few keep cows.

From the preceding statements, the reader will, I trust, be enabled to form some general idea of the present condition and

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circumstances of the labouring classes of the community. That they have, during the last two years, been subjected to great distress, from a rise, unexampled within the present century, in the price of the necessaries of life, every one will readily acknowledge. It is not, however, from a view of their situation, in a period of scarcity, that we are to estimate the comparative ability of a man to support himself by his labour, in modern, and in ancient times. Still less is a period of War to be selected, as the moment of ascertaining the ordinary comforts and gratifications of the peasant or working manufacturer. It does not fall within my plan to enter into minute comparative estimates relative to the progress of society in England; but there can be little doubt that the ten years ending in January 1793, exhibit the most flattering appearances, in every circumstance that has been considered, by political economists, as demonstrative of national prosperity. The demand for employment, and a subsequent advance in income, have risen in a progressive ratio: and to those who investigate the state of the nation, without a disposition to blame the present, and admire the past which too often influences even "persons endued with the profoundest judgment, and most extensive learning," both these and other symptoms of increasing industry and wealth must have been perfectly satisfactory. It may, indeed, be contended, that the rapid advance in the Poor's Rate, is an unequivocal proof of the inability of labourers to maintain themselves on the ordinary wages of labour. But before this can be admitted, it should be proved, that more persons are maintained by the present Poor's Rate, which probably exceeds three million sterling, than were by half that sum twenty years ago. Even allowing this to be the fact, it by no means proves that the able-bodied labourer, whom it has been the fashion of late years, upon benevolent, though mistaken, principles of policy, to quarter on the parish, would, if unassisted by the overseer, have been unable to benefit himself, whilst his employer was getting riches by his labour.

256. CAPTAIN BERRY'S NARRATIVE OF THE BATTLE
OF THE NILE.

August 1, 1798. J. K. Laughton's "Nelson's Letters and
Despatches," p. 151.

The destination of the French armament was involved in doubt and uncertainty; but it forcibly struck the admiral that as it was commanded by the man whom the French had dignified with the title of the conqueror of Italy and as he had with him a very large body of troops, an expedition had been planned which the land force might execute without the aid of their fleet should the transports be permitted to make their escape, and reach in safety their place of rendezvous; it therefore became a material consideration with the admiral so to arrange his force as at once to engage the whole attention of their ships of war and at the same time materially to annoy and injure their convoy. It will be fully admitted, from the subsequent information which has been received on the subject, that the ideas of the admiral upon this occasion were perfectly just, and that the plan which he had arranged was the most likely to frustrate the design of the enemy. It is almost unnecessary to explain his projected mode of attack at anchor, as that was minutely and precisely executed in the action which we now come to describe. These plans, however, were formed two months before an opportunity presented itself of executing any of them, and the advantage now was, that they were familiar to the understanding of every captain in the fleet.

It has been already mentioned that we saw the Pharos of Alexandria at noon on August 1. The Alexander and the Swiftsure had been detached ahead on the preceding evening, to reconnoitre the ports of Alexandria, while the main body of the squadron kept in the offing. The enemy's fleet was first discovered by the zealous Captain Hood, who immediately communicated by signal, the number of ships, sixteen, lying at anchor in line of battle, in a bay upon the larboard bow, which we afterwards found to be Aboukir Bay. The Admiral hauled his wind that instant, a movement which was immediately observed and followed by the whole squadron; and at the same time he recalled the Alexander and the Swiftsure. The wind

at this time was N.N.W. and blew what seamen call a top-gallant breeze. It was necessary to take in the royals when we hauled upon wind. The admiral made the signal to prepare for battle and that it was his intention to attack the enemy's van centre, as they lay at anchor, and according to the plan before developed. His idea in this disposition of his force was first to secure the victory and then to make the most of it according to future circumstances. A bower cable of each ship was immediately got out abaft and bent forward. We continued carrying sail and standing in for the enemy's fleet in a close line of battle. As all the officers of our squadron were totally unacquainted with Aboukir Bay, each ship kept sounding as she stood in. The enemy appeared to be moored in a strong and compact line of battle close in with the shore, their line describing an obtuse angle in its form, flanked by numerous gunboats, four frigates and a battery of guns and mortars on an island in their van. This situation of the enemy seemed to secure to them the most decided advantages as they had nothing to attend to but their artillery, in their superior skill in the use of which the French so much pride themselves and to which indeed their splendid series of land victories are in a great measure to be imputed.

The position of the enemy presented the most formidable obstacles, but the admiral viewed these with the eye of a seaman determined on attack, and it instantly struck his eager and penetrating mind that where there was room for an enemy's ship to swing there was room for one of ours to anchor. No further signal was necessary than those which had already been made. The admiral's designs were as fully known to his whole squadron as was his determination to conquer or perish in the attempt. The Goliath and the Zealous had the honour to lead inside and to receive the first fire from the van ships of the enemy as well as from the batteries and gunboats with which their van was strengthened. These two ships with the Orion, Audacious and Theseus, took their stations inside of the enemy's line and were immediately in close action. The Vanguard anchored the first on the outer side of the enemy and was opposed within half pistol-shot to Le Spartiate, the third in the enemy's line. In standing in our leading ships

were unavoidably obliged to receive into their bows the whole fire of the broadsides of the French line, until they could take their respective stations ; and it is but justice to observe that the enemy received us with great firmness and deliberation, no colours having been hoisted on either side nor a gun fired till our van ships were within half gunshot. At this time the necessary number of our mên were employed aloft in furling sails and on deck in hauling the braces, etc., preparatory to our casting anchor. As soon as this took place a most animated fire was opened from the Vanguard, which ship followed. The approach of those in the rear which were following in a straight line, the Minotaur, Defence, Bellerophon, Majestic, Swiftsure and Alexander came up in succession, and passing within hail of the Vanguard, took their respective stations opposed to the enemy's line. All our ships anchored by the stern, by which means the British line became inverted from van to rear. Captain Thompson of the Leander, of fifty guns, with a degree of skill and intrepidity highly honourable to his professional character, advanced towards the enemy's line on the outside, and most judiciously dropped his anchor athwart hawse of Le Franklin, raking her with great success, the shot from the Leander's broadside which passed that ship all striking L'Orient, the flagship of the French commander-in-chief.

The action commenced at sunset, which was at 6.31 P.M., with an ardour and vigour which it is impossible to describe. At about seven o'clock total darkness had come on, but the whole hemisphere was with intervals illuminated by the fire of the hostile fleets. Our ships, when darkness came on, had all hoisted their distinguishing lights, by a signal from the admiral. The van ship of the enemy, Le Guerrier, was dismasted in less than twelve minutes, and in ten minutes after the second ship, Le Conquérant, and the third, Le Spartiate, very nearly at the same moment were also dismasted . . . L'Aquilon and Le Peuple Souverain, the fourth and fifth ships of the enemy's line, were taken possession of by the British at half-past eight in the evening. Captain Berry at that hour sent Lieutenant Galway of the Vanguard with a party of marines to take possession of Le Spartiate, and that officer returned by the boat the French

captain's sword, which Captain Berry immediately delivered to the admiral, who was then below in consequence of the severe wound which he had received in his head during the heat of the attack. At this time it appeared that victory had already declared itself in our favour, for although L'Orient, L'Heureux, and Le Tonnant were not taken possession of they were considered as completely in our power, which pleasing intelligence Captain Berry had likewise the satisfaction of communicating in person to the admiral.

At ten minutes after nine a fire was observed on board L'Orient, the French admiral's ship, which seemed to proceed from the after part of the cabin, and which increased with great rapidity, presently involving the whole of the after part of the ship in flames. This circumstance Captain Berry immediately communicated to the admiral who, though suffering severely from his wound, came up on deck, where the first consideration that struck his mind was concern for the danger of so many lives, to save as many as possible of whom he ordered Captain Berry to make every practicable exertion. A boat, the only one that could swim, was instantly despatched from the Vanguard, and other ships that were in a condition to do so immediately followed the example; by which means from the best possible information the lives of about seventy Frenchmen were saved. The light thrown by the fire of L'Orient upon the surrounding objects enabled us to observe with more certainty the situation of the two fleets, the colours of both being clearly distinguishable. The cannonading was partially kept up to leeward of the centre till about ten o'clock, when L'Orient blew up with a most tremendous explosion. An awful pause and death-like silence for about three minutes ensued, when the wreck of the masts, yards, etc., which had been carried to a vast height fell down into the water and on board the surrounding ships. A port fire from L'Orient fell into the main royal of the Alexander, the fire occasioned by which was however extinguished in about two minutes by the active exertions of Captain Bell.

After this awful scene the firing was recommenced, with the ships to leeward of the centre, till twenty minutes past ten, when there was a total cessation of firing for about ten minutes;

after which it was revived till about three in the morning, when it again ceased.

257. AN ACT FOR THE UNION OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

40 Geo. III. c. 67, 1800.

Whereas in pursuance of his Majesty's most gracious recommendation to the two houses of parliament in Great Britain and Ireland respectively, to consider of such measures as might best tend to strengthen and consolidate the connection between the two kingdoms, the two houses of the parliament of Great Britain and the two houses of the parliament of Ireland have severally agreed and resolved that in order to promote and secure the essential interests of Great Britain and Ireland, and to consolidate the strength, power, and resources of the British Empire, it will be advisable to concur in such measures as may best tend to unite the two kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland into one kingdom. Both houses of the said two parliaments respectively have likewise agreed upon certain articles for . . . establishing the said purpose, in the terms following :

Article First. . . . that the said Kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland shall upon the first day of January that shall be in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and one, and for ever after be united into one kingdom, by the name of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.

Article Third. . . . That the said united kingdom be represented in one and the same parliament, to be styled The Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.

Article Fourth. . . . That four lords spiritual of Ireland by rotation . . . and twenty-eight lords temporal of Ireland elected for life by the peers of Ireland shall be the number to sit and vote on the part of Ireland in the house of lords of the parliament of the United Kingdom ; and 100 commoners (two for each county of Ireland, two for the city of Dublin, two for the city of Cork, one for the university of Trinity College, and one for each of the thirty-one most

considerable cities, towns and boroughs) be the number to sit and vote on the part of Ireland in the house of commons of the parliament of the united kingdom.

Article Fifth. . . . That the churches of England and Ireland, as now by law established, be united into one protestant episcopal Church, to be called, The United Church of England and Ireland; and that the doctrine . . . and government of the said united Church shall be, and shall remain in force for ever, as the same are now by law established for the church of England; and the continuance and preservation of the said united church as the established church of England and Ireland shall be deemed . . . to be an essential part of the Union; and that in like manner the doctrine and government of the church of Scotland shall remain and be preserved as the same are now established by law and by the Acts for the union of the two kingdoms of England and Scotland.

Article Sixth. That his Majesty's subjects of Great Britain and Ireland shall . . . be entitled to the same privileges and be on the same footing as to encouragements and bounties of the like articles, being the growth, produce or manufacture of either country respectively, and generally in respect of trade and navigation in all parts and places in the united kingdom and its dependencies; and that in all treaties made by his Majesty . . . with any foreign powers, his Majesty's subjects of Ireland shall have the same privileges and be on the same footing, as his Majesty's subjects of Great Britain.

258. MEMORANDUM ON THE TREATY OF BASSEIN.

By SIR ARTHUR WELLESLEY.

1804.

"Despatches of the Duke of Wellington," ii. 430.

European governments were, till very lately, guided by certain rules and systems of policy, so accurately defined and generally known, that it was scarcely possible to suppose a political event, in which the interest and conduct of each state would not be as well known to the *corps diplomatique* in general, as to the statesmen of each particular state.

The Asiatic governments do not acknowledge and hardly know of such rules and systems. Their governments are arbitrary, the objects of their policy are always shifting ; they have no regular established system, the effect of which is to protect the weak against the strong : on the contrary, the object of each of them separately, and of all of them taken collectively, is to destroy the weak ; and if by chance they should, by a sense of common danger, be induced for a season to combine their efforts for their mutual defence, the combination lasts only so long as it is attended with success, the first reverse dissolves it ; and, at all events, it is dissolved long before the danger ceases, the apprehension of which originally caused it.

There cannot be a stronger proof of this defect of policy in the Asiatic governments than the dissolution of the combination of the year 1790, between the English, the Marhattas, and the Nizam, by the attack of the Marhattas upon the Nizam in the year 1795.

These observations apply to the government of the Marhattas more than to any other of the Asiatic governments. Their schemes and systems of policy are the wildest of any. They undertake expeditions, not only without viewing their remote consequences upon other states, or upon their own, but without considering more than the chance of success of the immediate expedition in contemplation.

The Company's government in India, the other contracting party to their alliance, is one bound by all the rules and systems of European policy. The Company's power in India is supposed to depend much upon its reputation : and although I do not admit that it depends upon its reputation, as distinguished from its real force, as appears to be contended by some, I may say that it is particularly desirable for a government so constituted as the Company's, never to enter upon any particular object, the probable result of which should not be greatly in favour of success.

Besides this, the Company's government in India is bound by Acts of Parliament not to undertake wars of aggression, not to make any but defensive alliances, and those only in cases in which the other contracting party shall bind itself to defend

the possessions of the Company actually threatened with hostilities.

The Company's government in India are also connected with His Majesty's Government, and, as an Asiatic power, are liable to be involved in wars with European powers, possessing territories in India, whenever His Majesty shall be at war with those powers.

The picture above drawn of the state of politics among Asiatic powers proves that no permanent system can be adopted, which will preserve the weak against the strong, and will keep all for any length of time in their relative situations, and the whole in peace; excepting there should be one power which either by the superiority of its strength, its military system, or its resources, shall preponderate and be able to protect all.

259. NELSON'S MEMORANDUM BEFORE THE BATTLE OF TRAFALGAR.

Nicolas, "Despatches and Letters of Vice-Admiral Lord Viscount Nelson," vii. 89.
Victory, off Cadiz, 9th Oct. 1805.

Thinking it almost impossible to bring a fleet of forty sail of the line into a line of battle in variable winds, thick weather and other circumstances which must occur, without such a loss of time that the opportunity would probably be lost of bringing the enemy to battle in such a manner as to make the battle decisive, I have therefore made up my mind to keep the fleet in that position of sailing (with the exception of the first and second in command) that the order of sailing is to be the order of battle, placing the fleet in two lines of sixteen ships each, with an advanced squadron of the fastest sailing two-decked ships, which will always make, if wanted, a line of twenty-four sail, on whichever line the commander-in-chief may direct. The second in command will, after my intentions are made known to him, have the entire direction of his line to make the attack upon the enemy and to follow up the blow until they are captured or destroyed.

If the enemy's fleet should be seen to windward in line of

battle, and that the two lines and the advanced squadron can fetch them, they will probably be so extended that their van could not succour their rear. I should therefore probably make the second in command's signal to lead through about their twelfth ship from their rear (or wherever he could fetch, if not able to get so far advanced); my line would cut through about their centre, and the advanced squadron to cut through three or four ships ahead of their centre so as to insure getting at their commander in chief, whom every effort must be made to capture. The whole impression of the British fleet must be to overpower from two or three ships ahead of their commander in chief supposed to be in the centre to the rear of their fleet. I will suppose twenty of the enemy's line to be untouched; it must be some time before they could perform a manœuvre to bring their force compact to attack any part of the British fleet engaged or to succour their own ships, which indeed would be impossible without mixing with the ships engaged. The enemy's fleet is supposed to consist of forty-six sail of the line, British fleet of forty. If either is less, only a proportionate number of enemy's ships are to be cut off; British to be one-fourth superior to the enemy cut off.

Something must be left to chance; nothing is sure in a sea fight beyond all others. Shot will carry away the masts and yards of friends as well as foes, but I look with confidence to a victory before the van of the enemy could succour their rear, and then that the British fleet would most of them be ready to receive their twenty sail of the line or to pursue them should they endeavour to make off.

If the van of the enemy tacks, the captured ships must run to leeward of the British fleet; if the enemy wears, the British must place themselves between the enemy and the captured and disabled British ships; and should the enemy close, I have no fears as to the result.

Of the intended attack from windward, the enemy in line of battle ready to receive an attack:

The divisions of the British fleet will be brought nearly within gunshot of the enemy's centre. The signal will most probably then be made for the lee line to bear up together, to

set all their sails, even steering sails, in order to get as quickly as possible to the enemy's line, and to cut through, beginning from the twelfth ship from the enemy's rear. Some ships may not get through their exact place, but any will always be at hand to assist their friends, and if any are thrown round the rear of the enemy, they will effectually complete the business of twelve sail of the enemy.

Should the enemy wear together, or bear up and sail large, still the twelve ships composing, in the first position, the enemy's rear are to be the object of attack of the lee line, unless otherwise directed from the commander in chief, which is scarcely to be expected, as the entire management of the lee line, after the intentions of the commander in chief are signified, is intended to be left to the judgment of the admiral commanding that line.

The remainder of the enemy's fleet, thirty-four sail, are to be left to the management of the commander in chief, who will endeavour to take care that the movements of the second in command are as little interrupted as possible.

260. EXTRACT FROM THE EURVALUS'S LOG.

21 Oct. 1805.

"Despatches," vii. 205.

A.M. At 10 observed the enemy wearing, and coming to the wind on the larboard tack. At 11.40 repeated Lord Nelson's telegraph message, "I intend to push or go through the end of the enemy's line to prevent them from getting into Cadiz." Saw the land bearing E. by N. five or six leagues. At 11.56 repeated Lord Nelson's telegraph message, "England expects that every man will do his duty." At noon light winds and a great swell from the westward; observed the Royal Sovereign, Admiral Collingwood, leading the lee line, bearing down on the enemy's rear line, being then nearly within gunshot of them; Lord Nelson leading the weather line, bore down on the enemy's centre. Captain Blackwood returned from the Victory—Cape Trafalgar S.E. by E. about five leagues.

261. VICE-ADMIRAL COLLINGWOOD TO W. MARSDEN.

22 Oct. 1805.

"Despatches," vii. 212.

The ever to be lamented death of Vice-Admiral Lord Viscount Nelson, who in the late conflict with the enemy fell in the hour of victory, leaves to me the duty of informing my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty that on the 19th instant it was communicated to the commander in chief from the ships watching the motions of the enemy in Cadiz that the combined fleet had put to sea. As they sailed with light winds westerly, his Lordship concluded their destination was the Mediterranean, and immediately made all sail for the straits entrance with the British Squadron, consisting of twenty-seven ships, three of them sixty-fours, where his Lordship was informed by Captain Blackwood (whose vigilance in watching and giving notice of the enemy's movements has been highly meritorious) that they had not yet passed the straits.

On Monday the 21st instant, at daylight, when Cape Trafalgar bore E. by S. about seven leagues, the enemy was discovered six or seven miles to the eastward, the wind about west and very light; the commander in chief immediately made the signal for the fleet to bear up in two columns, as they are formed in order of sailing; a mode of attack his Lordship had previously directed, to avoid the inconvenience and delay in forming a line of battle in the usual manner. . . . The enemy's line consisted of thirty-three ships (of which eighteen were French and fifteen Spanish), commanded in chief by Admiral Villeneuve; the Spaniards, under the direction of Gravina, wore, with their heads to the northward, and formed their line of battle with great closeness and correctness; but as the mode of attack was unusual, so the structure of their line was new—it formed a crescent convexing to leeward—so that in leading down to their centre, I had both their van and rear abaft the beam. Before the fire opened, every alternate ship was about a cable's length to windward of her second ahead and astern, forming a kind of double line, and appeared when on their beam to leave very little interval between them; and this without crowding their ships. Admiral

Villeneuve was in Bucentaure in the centre, and the Prince of Asturias bore Gravina's flag in the rear; but the French and Spanish ships were mixed without any apparent regard to order of national squadron.

As the mode of attack had been previously determined on and communicated to the flag officers and captains, few signals were necessary and none were made except to direct close order as the lines bore down. The commander in chief in the Victory led the weather column; and the Royal Sovereign, which bore my flag, the lee.

The action began at twelve o'clock, by the leading ships of the columns breaking through the enemy's line, the commander in chief about the tenth ship from the van, the second in command about the twelfth from the rear, leaving the van of the enemy unoccupied; the succeeding ships breaking through in all parts astern of their leaders, and engaging the enemy at the muzzles of their guns, the conflict was severe. The enemy's ships were fought with a gallantry highly honourable to their officers, but the attack on them was irresistible, and it pleased the Almighty Disposer of all events to grant his Majesty's arms a complete and glorious victory. About 3 P.M. many of the enemy's ships having struck their colours, their line gave way; Admiral Gravina, with ten ships joining their frigates to leeward, stood toward Cadiz. The five headmost ships in their van tacked, and standing to the southward to windward of the British line, were engaged, and the sternmost of them taken; the others of them went off, leaving to his Majesty's squadron nineteen ships of the line (of which two are first rates, the Santissima Trinidad and the Santa Anna) with three flag officers, viz., Admiral Villeneuve, the commander in chief; Don Ignatio Maria d'Alava, vice-admiral; and the Spanish rear-admiral, Don Baltazar Hidalgo Cisneros.

After such a victory it may appear unnecessary to enter into encomiums on the particular parts taken by the various commanders, the conclusion says more on the subject than I have language to express; the spirit which animated all was the same. When all exert themselves zealously in their country's service, all deserve that their high merits should stand

recorded; and never was high merit more conspicuous than in the battle I have described.

Such a battle could not be fought without sustaining a great loss of men. I have not only to lament, in common with the British navy and the British nation, in the fall of the commander in chief, the loss of a hero whose name will be immortal, and his memory ever dear to his country, but my heart is rent with the most poignant grief for the death of a friend to whom by many years' intimacy and a perfect knowledge of the virtues of his mind, which inspired ideas superior to the common race of men, I was bound by the strongest ties of affection; a grief to which even the glorious occasion in which he fell does not bring the consolation which perhaps it ought: his Lordship received a musket-ball in his left breast about the middle of the action and sent an officer to me immediately with his last farewell, and soon after expired.

262. THE BERLIN DECREE.

Text trans. by J. H. Robinson (Philadelphia, 1897),
the "Univ. Translations and Reprints," vol. ii.
No. 2.

From our Imperial Camp at Berlin, November 21, 1806.

Napoleon, Emperor of the French and King of Italy, in consideration of the fact:

1. That England does not recognise the system of international law universally observed by all civilised nations.
2. That she regards as an enemy every individual belonging to the enemy's state, and consequently makes prisoners of war not only of the crews of armed ships of war but of the crews of ships of commerce and merchantmen and even of commercial agents and of merchants travelling on business.
3. That she extends to the vessels and commercial wares and to the property of individuals the right of conquest, which is applicable only to the possessions of the belligerent power.
4. That she extends to unfortified towns and commercial ports, to harbours and the mouths of rivers, the right of

blockade, which, in accordance with reason and the customs of all civilised nations, is applicable only to strong places. That she declares places in a state of blockade before which she has not even a single ship of war, although a place may not be blockaded except it be so completely guarded that no attempt to approach it can be made without imminent danger. That she has declared districts in a state of blockade which all her united forces would be unable to blockade, such as entire coasts and the whole of an empire.

5. That this monstrous abuse of the right of blockade has no other aim than to prevent communication among the nations and to raise the commerce and the industry of England upon the ruins of that of the continent.

6. That since this is the obvious aim of England, whoever deals of the continent in English goods, thereby favours and renders himself an accomplice of her designs.

7. That this policy of England, worthy of the earliest stages of barbarism, has profited that power to the detriment of every other nation.

8. That it is a natural right to oppose such arms against an enemy as he makes use of, and to combat in the same way as he combats. Since England has disregarded all ideas of justice and every high sentiment, due to the civilisation among mankind, we have resolved to apply to her the usages which she has ratified in her maritime legislation.

The provisions of the present decree shall continue to be looked upon as embodying the fundamental principles of the Empire until England shall recognise that the law of war is one and the same on land and sea, and that the rights of war cannot be extended so as to include private property of any kind or the persons of individuals unconnected with the profession of arms and that the right of blockade shall be restricted to fortified places actually invested by sufficient forces.

We have consequently decreed and do decree that which follows :

ARTICLE I.—The British Isles are declared to be in a state of blockade.

ART. II.—All commerce and all correspondence with the

British Isles is forbidden. Consequently letters or packages directed to England or to an Englishman or written in the English language shall not pass through the mails and shall be seized.

ART. III.—Every individual who is an English subject, of whatever state or condition he may be, who shall be discovered in any country occupied by our troops or by those of our allies, shall be made a prisoner of war.

ART. IV.—All warehouses, merchandise or property of whatever kind belonging to a subject of England shall be regarded as a lawful prize.

ART. V.—Trade in English goods is prohibited, and all goods belonging to England or coming from her factories or her colonies are declared a lawful prize.

ART. VI.—Half of the products resulting from the confiscation of the goods and possessions declared a lawful prize by the preceding articles shall be applied to indemnify the merchants for the losses they have experienced by the capture of merchant vessels taken by English cruisers.

ART. VII.—No vessel coming directly from England or from the English colonies or which shall have visited these since the publication of the present decree shall be received in any port.

ART. VIII.—Any vessel contravening the above provision by a false declaration shall be seized, and the vessel and cargo shall be confiscated as if it were English property.

ART. IX.—Our Court of Prizes at Paris shall pronounce final judgment in all cases arising in our Empire or in the countries occupied by the French Army relating to the execution of the present decree. Our Court of Prizes at Milan shall pronounce final judgment in the said cases which may arise within our Kingdom of Italy.

ART. X.—The present decree shall be communicated by our minister of foreign affairs to the King of Spain, of Naples, of Holland and of Etruria, and to our other allies whose subjects like ours are the victims of the unjust and barbarous maritime legislation of England.

ART. XI.—Our ministers of foreign affairs, of war, of the navy, of finance and of the police, and our Directors General

of the port are charged with the execution of the present decree so far as it affects them.

(Signed)

NAPOLÉON.

Done by the Emperor,

HUGUE MARET,

Ministerial Secretary of State.

263. PURCHASING A SEAT IN PARLIAMENT.

Sir Samuel Romilly, "Memoirs" (London, 1840), ii. 200-202.

June 27th, 1807.

I shall procure myself a seat in the new Parliament, unless I find that it will cost so large a sum, as, in the state of my family, it would be very imprudent for me to devote to such an object, which I find is very likely to be the case. Tierney, who manages this business for the friends of the late administration, assures me that he can hear of no seats to be disposed of. After a Parliament which has lived little more than four months, one would naturally suppose, that those seats which are regularly sold by the proprietors of them would be very cheap; they are, however, in fact, sold now at a higher price than was ever given for them before. Tierney tells me that he has offered 10,000*l.* for the two seats of Westbury, the property of the late Lord Abingdon, and which are to be made the most of by trustees for creditors, and has met with a refusal. 6000*l.* and 5,500*l.* have been given for seats with no stipulation as to time, or against the event of a speedy dissolution by the King's death, or by any change of administration. The truth is, that the new Ministers have bought up all the seats that were to be disposed of, and at any prices. Amongst others, Sir C. H. —, the great dealer in boroughs, has sold all he had to Ministers. With what money all this is done I know not, but it is supposed that the King, who has greatly at heart to preserve this new administration, the favourite objects of his choice, has advanced a very large sum out of his privy purse.

This buying of seats is detestable; and yet it is almost the only way in which one in my situation, who is resolved to be

an independent man, can get into Parliament. To come in by a popular election, in the present state of the representation, is quite impossible; to be placed there by some great lord, and to vote as he shall direct, is to be in a state of complete dependence; and nothing hardly remains but to owe a seat to the sacrifice of a part of one's fortune. It is true that many men who buy seats, do it as a matter of pecuniary speculation, as a profitable way of employing their money; they carry on a political trade; they buy their seats, and sell their votes. For myself, I can truly say that, by giving money for a seat, I shall make a sacrifice of my private property, merely that I may be enabled to serve the public. I know what danger there is of men's disguising from themselves the real motives of their actions; but it really does appear to me that it is from this motive alone that I act.

May 9th. After almost despairing of being able to get any seat in Parliament, my friend Piggott has at last procured me one; and the Duke of Norfolk has consented to bring me in for Horsham. It is however but a precarious seat. I shall be returned, as I shall have a majority of votes, which the late committee of the House of Commons decided to be good ones; but there will be a petition against the return, by the candidates who will stand on Lady Irwin's interest, and it is extremely doubtful what will be the event of the petition. . . .

12th. The terms upon which I have my seat at Horsham will be best explained by a letter I wrote to Piggott to-day after the election was over, and which I am glad to keep a copy of. "If I keep the seat, either by the decision of a committee upon a petition, or by a compromise (the Duke and Lady Irwin returning one member each, in which case it is understood that I am to be the member who continues), I am to pay 2000*l.*; if, upon a petition, I lose the seat, I am not to be at any expense."

264. CATHOLIC EMANCIPATION.

1808. Sydney Smith, "Peter Plymley's Letters," ii. Works of the Rev. Sydney Smith (London, 1859), i. 140-142.

. . . I have been in every corner of Ireland, and have studied its present strength and condition with no common

labour. Be assured Ireland does not contain at this moment less than five millions of people. There were returned in the year 1791 to the hearth tax 701,000 houses, and there is no kind of question that there were about 50,000 houses omitted in that return. Taking, however, only the number returned for the tax, and allowing the average of six to a house (a very small average for a potato-fed people), this brings the population to 4,200,000 people in the year 1791: and it can be shown from the clearest evidence (and Mr. Newenham in his book shows it), that Ireland for the last fifty years has increased in its population at the rate of 50,000 or 60,000 per annum; which leaves the present population of Ireland at about five millions, after every possible deduction for *existing circumstances, just and necessary wars, monstrous and unnatural rebellions*, and other sources of human destruction. Of this population two out of ten are Protestants; and the half of the Protestant population are Dissenters, and as inimical to the Church as the Catholics themselves. In this state of things thumbscrews and whipping—admirable engines of policy as they must be considered to be—will not ultimately prevail. The Catholics will hang over you; they will watch for the moment, and compel you hereafter to give them ten times as much, against your will, as they would now be contented with, if it were voluntarily surrendered. Remember what happened in the American war, when Ireland compelled you to give her everything she asked, and to renounce, in the most explicit manner, your claim of sovereignty over her. God Almighty grant the folly of these present men may not bring on such another crisis of public affairs!

What are your dangers which threaten the Establishment?—Reduce this declamation to a point, and let us understand what you mean. The most ample allowance does not calculate that there would be more than twenty members who were Roman Catholics in one house, and ten in the other, if the Catholic emancipation were carried into effect. Do you mean that these thirty members would bring in a Bill to take away the tithes from the Protestant, and to pay them to the Catholic clergy? Do you mean that a Catholic general would march his army into the House of Commons, and purge it of

Mr. Perceval and Dr. Duigenan? or that the theological writers would become all of a sudden more acute and more learned, if the present civil incapacities were removed? Do you fear for your tithes, or your doctrines, or your person, or the English Constitution? Every fear, taken separately, is so glaringly absurd, that no man has the folly or the boldness to state it. Every one conceals his ignorance, or his baseness, in a stupid general panic, which, when called on, he is utterly incapable of explaining. Whatever you think of the Catholics, there they are—you cannot get rid of them; your alternative is to give them a lawful place for stating their grievances, or an unlawful one: if you do not admit them to the House of Commons, they will hold their parliament in Potato-place, Dublin, and be ten times as violent and inflammatory as they would be in Westminster. Nothing would give me such an idea of security as to see twenty or thirty Catholic gentlemen in Parliament, looked upon by all the Catholics as the fair and proper organ of their party. I should have thought it the height of good fortune that such a wish existed on their part, and the very essence of madness and ignorance to reject it. Can you murder the Catholics?—Can you neglect them? They are too numerous for both these expedients. What remains to be done is obvious to every human being—but to that man who, instead of being a Methodist preacher, is, for the curse of us and our children, and for the ruin of Troy and the misery of good old Priam and his sons, become a legislator and a politician.

A distinction, I perceive, is taken by one of the most feeble noblemen in Great Britain, between persecution and the deprivation of political power; whereas there is no more distinction between these two things than there is between him who makes the distinction and a booby. If I strip off the relic-covered jacket of a Catholic, and give him twenty stripes . . . I persecute; if I say, Everybody in the town where you live shall be a candidate for lucrative and honorable offices, but you, who are a Catholic . . . I do not persecute! What barbarous nonsense is this! as if degradation was not as great an evil as bodily pain or as severe poverty: as if I could not be as great a tyrant by saying, You shall not enjoy—as by

saying, You shall suffer. The English, I believe, are as truly religious as any nation in Europe : I know no greater blessing ; but it carries with it this evil in its train—that any villain who will bawl out, “ *The Church is in danger !* ” may get a place and a good pension ; and that any administration who will do the same thing may bring a set of men into power who, at a moment of stationary and passive piety, would be hooted by the very boys in the streets. But it is not all religion ; it is, in great part, the narrow and exclusive spirit which delights to keep the common blessings of sun and air and freedom from other human beings, “ Your religion has always been degraded ; you are in the dust, and I will take care you never rise again. I should enjoy less the possession of an earthly good by every additional person to whom it was extended.” You may not be aware of it yourself, most reverend Abraham, but you deny their freedom to the Catholics upon the same principle that Sarah your wife refuses to give the receipt for a ham or a gooseberry dumpling : she values her receipts, not because they secure to her a certain flavour, but because they remind her that her neighbours want it :—a feeling laughable in a priestess, shameful in a priest ; venial when it withholds the blessings of a ham, tyrannical and execrable when it narrows the boon of religious freedom.

You spend a great deal of ink about the character of the present prime minister. Grant you all that you write—I say, I fear he will ruin Ireland, and pursue a line of policy destructive to the true interest of his country. . . .

The late administration did not do right ; they did not build their measures upon the solid basis of facts. They should have caused several Catholics to have been dissected after death by surgeons of either religion ; and the report to have been published with accompanying plates. If the viscera, and other organs of life, had been found to be the same as in Protestant bodies ; if the provision of nerves, arteries, cerebrum, and cerebellum, had been the same as we are provided with, or as the Dissenters are now known to possess ; then, indeed, they might have met Mr. Perceval upon a proud eminence, and convinced the country at large of the strong probability that the Catholics are really human creatures,

endowed with the feelings of men, and entitled to all their rights. But instead of this wise and prudent measure, Lord Howick, with his usual precipitation, brings forward a Bill in their favour, without offering the slightest proof to the country that they were anything more than horses and oxen.

265. WELLINGTON'S MEMORANDUM FOR LIEUT.-COLONEL FLETCHER, COMMANDING THE ROYAL ENGINEERS.

"Despatches of the Duke of Wellington," v. 230.

LISBON, October 20, 1809.

In the existing relative state of the Allied and French armies in the Peninsula, it does not appear probable that the enemy have it in their power to make an attack upon Portugal. They must wait for their reinforcements; and as the arrival of these may be expected, it remains to be considered what plan of defence shall be adopted for this country.

The great object in Portugal is the possession of Lisbon and the Tagus, and all our measures must be directed to this object. There is another also connected with that first object, to which we must likewise attend, viz., the embarkation of the British troops in case of reverse.

In whatever season the enemy may enter Portugal, he will probably make his attack by two distinct lines, the one north, the other south of the Tagus; and the system of defence to be adopted must be founded upon this general basis.

In the winter season the river Tagus will be full, and will be a barrier to the enemy's enterprises with his left attack, not very difficult to be secured. In the summer season, however, the Tagus being fordable in many places between Abrantes and Salvaterra, and even lower than Salvaterra, care must be taken that the enemy does not, by his attack directed from the south of the Tagus, and by the passage of the river, cut off from Lisbon the British army engaged in operations to the northward of the Tagus.

The object of the allies should be to oblige the enemy as much as possible to make his attack with concentrated corps.

They should stand in every position which the country could afford such a length of time as would enable the people of the country to evacuate the towns and villages, carrying with them or destroying all articles of provisions and carriages, not necessary for the allies' army; each corps taking care to preserve its communication with the others, and its relative distance from the point of junction.

In whatever season the enemy's attack may be made, the whole allied army, after providing for the garrisons of Elvas, Almeida, Abrantes, and Valença, should be divided into three corps, to be posted as follows:—one corp to be in Beira; another in Alentejo; and the third, consisting of the Lusitanian Legion, eight battalions of caçadores, and two of militia, in the mountains of Castello Branco.

In the winter, the corps in Beira should consist of two-thirds of the whole numbers of the operating army. In the summer, the corps in Beira and Alentejo should be nearly of equal numbers.

I shall point out in another memorandum the plan of operations to be adopted by the corps north and south of the Tagus in the winter months.

In the summer it is probable, as I have above stated, that the enemy will make his attack in two principal corps, and that he will also push one through the mountains of Castello Branco and Abrantes. His object will be, by means of his corps south of the Tagus, to turn the positions which might be taken up in his front on the north of that river; to cut off from Lisbon the corps opposed to him; and to destroy it by an attack in front and rear at the same time. This can be avoided only by the retreat of the right centre and left of the allies, and their junction at a point at which, from the state of the river, they cannot be turned by the passage of the Tagus by the enemy's left.

The first point of defence which presents itself below that at which the Tagus ceases to be fordable is the river of Castanheira, and here the army should be posted as follows:—10,000 men, including all the cavalry, in the plain between the Tagus and the hills; 5000 infantry on the left of the plain; and the remainder of the army, with the exception of the

following detachments, on the heights in front, and on the right of Cadafoes.

In order to prevent the enemy from turning, by their left, the positions which the allies may take up for the defence of the high road to Lisbon by the Tagus, Torres Vedras should be occupied by a corps of 5000 men; the height in the rear of Sobral de Monte Agraço by 4000 men; and Arruda by 2000 men.

There should be a small corps on the height east by south of the height of Sobral, to prevent the enemy from marching from Sobral to Arruda; and there should be another small corps on the height of Adjuda, between Sobral and Bucellas.

In case the enemy should succeed in forcing the corps at Torres Vedras, or Sobral de Monte Agraço, or Arruda; if the first, it must fall back gradually to Cabeça de Montachique, occupying every defensible point on the road: if the second, it must fall back upon Bucellas, destroying the road after the height of Ajuda; if the third, it must fall back upon Alhandra, disputing the road particularly at a point one league in front of that town.

In case any one of these three positions should be forced, the army must fall back from its position as before pointed out, and must occupy one as follows:

Five thousand men, principally light infantry, on the hill behind Alhandra; the main body of the army on the Serra de Serves, with its right on that part of the Serra which is near the Casal de Portella, and is immediately above the road which crosses the Serra from Bucellas to Alverça; and its left extending to the pass of Bucellas. The entrance of the pass of Bucellas to be occupied by the troops retired from Sobral de Monte Agraço, etc., and Cabeça de Montachique, by the corps retired from Torres Vedras.

In order to strengthen these several positions, it is necessary that different works should be constructed immediately, and that arrangements and preparations should be made for the construction of others.

Accordingly, I beg Colonel Fletcher, as soon as possible, to review these several positions.

1st. He will examine particularly the effect of damming up

the mouth of the Castanheira river; how far it will render that river a barrier, and to what extent it will fill.

2nd. He will calculate the labour required for that work, and the time it will take, as well as the means of destroying the bridge over the river, and of constructing such redoubts as might be necessary on the plain, and on the hill on the left of the road, effectually to defend the plain. He will state particularly what means should be prepared for these works. He will also consider of the means and time required, and the effect which might be produced by sloping the banks of the river.

3rd. He will make the same calculations for the works to be executed on the hill in front, and on the right of Cadafoes, particularly on the left of that hill, to shut the entry of the valley of Cadafoes.

4th. He will examine and report upon the means of making a good road of communication from the plain across the hills into the valley of Cadafoes, and to the left of the proposed position, and calculate the time and labour it will take.

5th. He will examine the road from Otta by Abregada, Labrugeira to Merciana, and thence to Torres Vedras; and also from Merciana to Sobral de Monte Agraço. He will also examine and report upon the road from Alemquer to Sobral de Monte Agraço.

6th. He will entrench a post at Torres Vedras for 5000 men. He will examine the road from Torres Vedras to Cabeça de Montachique; and fix upon the spots at which to break it up as might stop or delay the enemy; and if there should be advantageous grounds at such spots, he will entrench a position for 400 men to cover the retreat of the corps from Torres Vedras.

7th. He will examine the position at Cabeça de Montachique, and determine upon its line of defence, and upon the works to be constructed for its defence, by a corps of 5000 men, of which he will estimate the time and the labour.

8th. He will entrench a position for 4000 men on the two heights which command the road from Sobral de Monte Agraço to Bucellas.

9th. He will entrench a position for 400 men on the height

of Ajuda, between Sobral^d and Bucellas, to cover the retreat of the corps from Sobral to Bucellas ; and he will calculate the means and the time it will take to destroy the road at that spot.

10th. He will construct a redoubt for 200 men and three guns at the windmill, on the height of Sobral de Monte Agraço, which guns will bear upon the road from Sobral to Arruda.

11th. He will ascertain the points at which, and the means by which, the road from Sobral to Arruda can be destroyed.

12th. He will ascertain the labour and the time required to entrench a position which he will fix upon for 2000 men to defend the road coming out of Arruda towards Villa Franca and Alhandra, and he will fix upon the spot at which the road from Arruda to Alhandra can be destroyed with advantage.

13th. He will construct a redoubt on the hill which commands the road from Arruda, about one league in front of Alhandra.

14th. He will examine the estuaries at Alhandra, and see whether, by damming them up at the mouths, he could increase the difficulties of a passage by that place ; and he will ascertain the time and labour, and means which this work will require.

15th. He will fix upon the spots, and ascertain the time and labour required to construct redoubts upon the hill of Alhandra, on the right, to prevent the passage of the enemy by the high road ; and on the left, and in the rear, to prevent by their fire the occupation of the mountains towards Alverca.

16th. He will determine upon the works to be constructed on the right of the position upon the Serra de Serves, as above pointed out, to prevent the enemy from forcing that point ; and he will calculate the means and the time required to execute them. He will likewise examine the pass of Bucellas, and fix upon the works to be constructed for its defence, and calculate the means, time, and labour required for the execution.

17th. He will calculate the means, time, and labor required to construct a work upon the hill upon which the windmill stands, at the southern entrance at the pass of Bucellas.

18th. He will fix upon spots on which signal-posts can be erected upon these hills, to communicate from one part of the position to the other.

19th. It is very desirable that we should have an accurate plan of the ground.

20th. Examine the island in the river opposite to Alhandra, and fix upon the spot, and calculate the means and time required to construct batteries upon it, to play upon the approach to Alhandra.

21st. Examine the effect of damming up the river, which runs by Loures, and calculate the time and means required to break up the bridge at Loures.

266. WELLINGTON TO THE EARL OF LIVERPOOL.

PRO NEGRO, November 3, 1810.

"Despatches," vi. 552.

I wish it was in my power to give your lordship an opinion of the probable course of the enemy's operations, founded upon the existing state of affairs here, considered in a military point of view; but from what I am about to state to your lordship, you will observe, that it is impossible to form such an opinion.

The expedition into Portugal was, in my opinion, founded originally upon political and financial, rather than military considerations. It is true, that with a view to the conquest of Spain, there were advantages purely military, to be derived from the removal of the British army from Portugal; but I think I could show that it was not essentially necessary to effect that object, particularly after the door into Castille had been closed upon us, by the capture of Ciudad Rodrigo and Almeida.

The political object, therefore, in removing us from Portugal, which was the effect that our evacuation of the Peninsula would have had upon the inhabitants of Spain in general, and upon those of Cadiz in particular; and the financial object, which was the possession and plunder of Lisbon and Oporto, were the principal motives for the perseverance in the expedition into Portugal. I believe the latter to have been more pressing even than the former.

It is impossible to describe to your lordship the pecuniary and other distresses of the French armies in the Peninsula. All the troops are months in arrears of pay; they are in general very badly clothed; their armies want horses, carriages, and equipments of every description; their troops subsist solely upon plunder, whether acquired individually, or more regularly by way of requisition and contribution; they receive no money, or scarcely any, from France; and they realise but little from their pecuniary contributions in Spain. Indeed, I have lately discovered that the expense of the pay and the hospitals alone, of the French army in the Peninsula, amounts to more than the sum stated in the financial *exposé*, as the whole expense of the entire French army. This state of things has very much weakened, and in some instances destroyed, the discipline of the army; and all the intercepted letters advert to acts of malversation and corruption, and misapplication of stores, etc., by all the persons attached to the army.

I have no doubt, therefore, that the desire to relieve this state of distress, and to remove the consequent evils occasioned by it, by the plunder of Lisbon and Oporto, was the first motive for the expedition into Portugal. The expedition, not having been founded upon any military necessity, has been carried on and persevered in against every military principle. We know that Massena could expect no immediate reinforcements; and without adverting to the various errors, which I believe he would acknowledge he had committed in the course of the service, he has persevered in it, after he found that he was unable to force the troops, opposed to him, when posted in a strong position, and when he knew that they had one still stronger in their rear, to which they were about to retire; and that they were likely to be reinforced, while his army would be still further weakened by sickness, and by the privations to which he knew they must be liable on their march. He knew that the whole country was against him; that a considerable corps was formed upon the Douro, which would immediately operate upon his rear; that at the time of the battle of Busaco he had no longer any communication with Spain; and that every step he took farther

in advance was a step towards additional difficulty and inconvenience, from which the retreat would be almost impossible.

If the expedition into Portugal had been founded upon military principle only, it would have ended at Busaco; and I do not hesitate to acknowledge that I expected that Massena would retire from thence, or at all events would not advance beyond the Mondego. But he has continued to advance, contrary to every military principle; and I therefore conclude that the pressure of financial distresses, which was the original motive for the expedition, was that for persevering in it, and may operate upon the measures of the present moment.

In this view of the case, it is probable that Massena may endeavour to maintain his position, as long as he can keep alive any proportion of his troops, being certain that the same difficulties which induced the Emperor to undertake the expedition without any military necessity, would induce him to make every effort to reinforce him at the earliest possible period of time, and therefore that he will remain some time longer where he is.

Your lordship is already acquainted with the means of reinforcing him. There is no doubt that, by raising the siege of Cadiz, and abandoning other unattainable objects, Massena may be reinforced to a very considerable extent.

Under these circumstances, I have frequently turned over in my mind the expediency of attacking the French army now in my front, before it should be joined by its reinforcements; and, upon the whole, I am inclined to be of opinion that I ought not to do so.

I enclose your lordship an account of the number of battalions, squadrons, etc., which entered Portugal with Massena, and I cannot believe that they composed an army of less than 70,000 men at the battle of Busaco. I calculate their loss, including sick, since that time, at 15,000 men, which would leave them with 55,000 men, of which 6000 or 7000 are cavalry at the present moment.

The effective strength of the British army, according to the last returns, was 29,000 infantry, cavalry, and artillery, and one regiment at Lisbon, and one at Torres Vedras, which, in

the view of the contest ought not to be taken into the account ; and I enclose a statement of the Portuguese force, according to the last returns.

Besides this force, the Marques de la Romana's corps consists of about 5000 men ; making a total of 58,615, of which I could command the services, in case I should act offensively against the enemy.

Besides these troops, there are different bodies of militia, infantry, and artillery, in our positions ; but I should deceive myself if I could expect, and your lordship if I should state, that any advantage would be derived from their assistance in an offensive operation against the enemy.

Although the enemy's position is not so strong as that which we occupy, there is no doubt but that it has its advantages ; one of which is, that in attacking it, we could hardly use our artillery. I would also observe, that in every operation of this description by the British army in Portugal, no attempt can be made to manœuvre upon the enemy's flank or rear ; first, because the enemy show they are indifferent about their flanks or rear, or their communications ; and secondly, because the inevitable consequence of attempting such a manœuvre would be to open some one or other road to Lisbon, and to our shipping, of which the enemy would take immediate advantage to attain his object.

We must carry their positions, therefore, by main force, and consequently with loss ; and, in the course of the operations I must draw the army out of their cantonments ; I must expose the troops and horses to the inclemencies of the weather at this season of the year, and must look to all the consequences of that measure in increased sickness of the men, and in loss of efficiency and condition in horses.

I observe that, notwithstanding the length of time which has elapsed since the greatest and most efficient part of the French army has been employed against us, there is yet no other military body in the Peninsula which is capable of taking, much less of keeping the field ; and the relief of Cadiz, which appears to me to be a probable consequence of the state of affairs here, would not give us the assistance of an army from that quarter, either in the way of co-operation or of

diversion ; nor would the removal of Sebastiani from Granada, which would be the consequence of the relief of Cadiz, enable Blake to make any progress beyond the Sierra Morena towards Madrid. We should still stand alone in the Peninsula as an army ; and if I should succeed in forcing Massena's position, it would become a question whether I should be able to maintain my own, in case the enemy should march another army into this country. But, when I observe how small the superiority of numbers is in my favour, and know that the position will be in favour of the enemy, I cannot but be of opinion that I act in conformity with the instructions and intentions of His Majesty's Government, in waiting for the result of what is going on, and in incurring no extraordinary risk.

Every day's delay, at this season of the year, narrows our line of defence, and consequently strengthens it ; and when the winter shall have set in, no number, however formidable, can venture to attack it ; and the increase of the enemy's numbers at that period will only add to their distress, and increase the difficulties of their retreat.

I have thought it proper to make your lordship acquainted with the course of my reflections upon this subject, and my present determination, which I hope will be consistent with the wishes of His Majesty's Government. Circumstances may change : the enemy's distresses for provisions, and the operations of our detachments in his rear, may induce him to detach to such a degree, as to render a general attack upon him a measure of positive advantage, in which case I shall alter my determination.

But adverting to the necessity of placing the troops in the field in this season if I should make any attack, the advantage must be very obvious before I adopt a measure which must be attended by the consequence of losing the services of my men by sickness,

267. WELLINGTON TO EARL BATHURST.

WATERLOO, June 19, 1815.

"Despatches," xii. 478.

Buonaparte, having collected the 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th, and 6th corps of the French army, and the Imperial Guards, and

nearly all the cavalry, on the Sambre, and between that river and the Meuse, between the 10th and 14th of the month, advanced on the 15th and attacked the Prussian posts at Thuin and Lobbes on the Sambre at daylight in the morning.

I did not hear of these events until the evening of the 15th, and I immediately ordered the troops to prepare to march, and afterwards to march to their left, as soon as I had intelligence from other quarters to prove that the enemy's movement upon Charleroi was the real attack.

The enemy drove the Prussian posts from the Sambre on that day, and General Ziethen, who commanded the corps which had been at Charleroi, retired upon Fleurus; and Marshal Prince Blücher concentrated the Prussian army upon Sombref, holding the villages in front of his position of St. Amand and Ligny.

The enemy continued his march along the road from Charleroi towards Bruxelles; and, on the same evening, the 15th attacked a brigade of the army of the Netherlands under the Prince de Wiemar, posted at Frasné, and forced it back to the farmhouse on the same road, called Les Quatre Bras.

The Prince of Orange immediately reinforced this brigade with another of the same division, under General Perponcher, and, in the morning early, regained part of the ground which had been lost, so as to have the command of the communication leading from Nivelles and Bruxelles with Marshal Blücher's position.

In the meantime I had directed the whole army to march upon Les Quatre Bras, and the 5th division, under Lieut.-General Sir T. Picton, arrived at about half-past two in the day, followed by the corps of troops under the Duke of Brunswick, and afterwards by the contingent of Nassau.

At this time the enemy commenced an attack upon Prince Blücher with his whole force, excepting the 1st and 2nd corps, and a corps of cavalry under General Kellermann, with which he attacked our post at Les Quatre Bras.

The Prussian army maintained their position with their usual gallantry and perseverance against a great disparity of numbers, as the 4th corps of their army, under General Bülow, had not joined; and I was not able to assist them, as I wished, as I

was attacked myself, and the ¹troops, the cavalry in particular which had a long distance to ²March, had not arrived.

We maintained our position also, and completely defeated and repulsed all the enemy's attempts to get possession of it. The enemy repeatedly attacked us with a large body of infantry and cavalry, supported by a numerous and powerful artillery. He made several charges with the cavalry upon our infantry, but all were repulsed in the steadiest manner.

In this affair, H.R.H. the Prince of Orange, the Duke of Brunswick, and Lieut.-General Sir T. Picton, and Major-Generals Sir J. Kempt and Sir Denis Pack, who were engaged from the commencement of the enemy's attack, highly distinguished themselves; as well as Lieut.-General C. Baron Alten, Major-General Sir C. Halkett, Lieut.-General Cooke, and Major-Generals Maitland and Byng, as they successively arrived. The troops of the 5th division, and those of the Brunswick corps, were long and severely engaged, and conducted themselves with the utmost gallantry. I must particularly mention the 28th, 42nd, 79th, and 92nd regts., and the battalion of Hanoverians.

Our loss was great, as your Lordship will perceive by the enclosed return; and I have particularly to regret H.S.H. the Duke of Brunswick, who fell fighting gallantly at the head of his troops.

Although Marshal Blücher had maintained his position at Sombref, he still found himself much weakened by the severity of the contest in which he had been engaged; and, as the 4th corps had not arrived, he determined to fall back and to concentrate his army upon Wavre; and he marched in the night, after the action was over.

This movement of the Marshal rendered necessary a corresponding one upon my part, and I retired from the farm of Quatre Bras upon Genappe, and thence upon Waterloo, the next morning, the 17th, at 10 o'clock.

The enemy made no effort to pursue Marshal Blücher. On the contrary a patrol which I sent to Sombref in the morning found all quiet; and the enemy's vedettes fell back as the patrol advanced. Neither did he attempt to molest our march to the rear, although made in the middle of the day,

excepting by following, with a large body of cavalry brought from his right, the cavalry under the Earl of Uxbridge.

This gave Lord Uxbridge an opportunity of charging them with the 1st Life Guards, upon their *débouché* from the village of Genappe, upon which occasion his Lordship has declared himself to be well satisfied with that regiment.

The position which I took up in front of Waterloo crossed the high roads from Charleroi and Nivelles, and had its right thrown back to a ravine near Merke Braine, which was occupied, and its left extended to a height above the hamlet Ter la Haye, which was likewise occupied. In front of the right centre, and near the Nivelles road, we occupied the house and gardens of Hougoumont, which covered the return of that flank; and in front of the left centre we occupied the farm of La Haye Sainte. By our left we communicated with Marshal Prince Blücher at Wavre through Ohain; and the Marshal had promised me that, in case we should be attacked, he would support me with one or more corps, as might be necessary.

The enemy collected his army, with the exception of the 3rd corps, which had been sent to observe Marshal Blücher, on a range of heights in our front, in the course of the night of the 17th and yesterday morning, and at about 10 o'clock he commenced a furious attack upon our post at Hougoumont. I had occupied that post with a detachment from General Byng's brigade of Guards, which was in position in its rear; and it was for some time under the command of Lieut.-Colonel Macdonell, and afterwards of Colonel Home; and I am happy to add, that it was maintained throughout the day with the utmost gallantry by these brave troops, notwithstanding the repeated efforts of large bodies of the enemy to obtain possession of it.

This attack upon the right of our centre was accompanied by a very heavy cannonade upon our whole line, which was destined to support the repeated attacks of cavalry and infantry, occasionally mixed, but sometimes separate, which were made upon it. In one of these the enemy carried the farmhouse of La Haye Sainte, as the detachment of the light battalion of the German Legion, which occupied it, had

expended all its ammunition; and the enemy occupied the only communication there was with them.

The enemy repeatedly charged our infantry with his cavalry, but these attacks were uniformly unsuccessful; and they afforded opportunities to our cavalry to charge, in one of which Lord E. Somerset's brigade, consisting of the Life Guards, the Royal Horse Guards, and 1st Dragoon Guards, highly distinguished themselves, as did that of Major-General Sir W. Ponsonby, having taken many prisoners and an eagle.

These attacks were repeated till about 7 in the evening, when the enemy made a desperate effort with cavalry and infantry supported by the fire of artillery, to force our left centre, near the farm of La Haye Sainte, which, after a severe contest, was defeated; and, having observed that the troops retired from this attack in great confusion, and that the march of General Bülow's corps, by Frischermont, upon Planchenois and La Belle Alliance, had begun to take effect, and as I could perceive the fire of his cannon, and as Marshal Prince Blücher had joined in person with a corps of his army to the left of our line by Ohain I determined to attack the enemy, and immediately advanced the whole line of infantry, supported by the cavalry and artillery. The attack succeeded in every point; the enemy was forced from his positions on the heights, and fled in the utmost confusion, leaving behind him, as far as I could judge, 150 pieces of cannon, with their ammunition, which fell into our hands.

I continued the pursuit till long after dark, and then discontinued it only on account of the fatigue of our troops, who had been engaged during twelve hours, and because I found myself on the same road with Marshal Blücher, who assured me of his intention to follow the enemy throughout the night. He has sent me word this morning that he had taken 60 pieces of cannon belonging to the Imperial Guard, and several carriages, baggage, etc., belonging to Buonaparte, in Genappe.

I propose to move this morning upon Nivelles, and not to discontinue my operations.

Your Lordship will observe that such a desperate action could not be fought, and such advantages could not be gained,

without great loss ; and I am sorry to add that ours has been immense. In Lieut.-General Sir T. Picton His Majesty has sustained the loss of an officer who has frequently distinguished himself in his service ; and he fell gloriously leading his division to a charge with bayonets, by which one of the most serious attacks made by the enemy on our position was repulsed. The Earl of Uxbridge, after having successfully got through this arduous day, received a wound by almost the last shot fired, which will, I am afraid, deprive His Majesty for some time of his services.

268. ENGLISH FEELING TOWARD NAPOLEON AFTER
WATERLOO.

The Times, July 25, 1815.

Our paper of this day will satisfy the sceptics, for such there were beginning to be, as to the capture of that bloody miscreant, who has so long tortured Europe, NAPOLEON BUONAPARTE. Savages are always found to unite the greatest degree of cunning to the ferocious part of their nature. The cruelty of this person is written in characters of blood in almost every country in Europe, and in the contiguous angles of Africa and Asia which he visited ; and nothing can more strongly evince the universal conviction of his low, perfidious craft, than the opinion, which was beginning to get abroad, that, even after his capture had been officially announced both in France and England, he might yet have found means to escape.

However all doubts upon this point are at an end, by his arrival off the British coast, and, if he be not now placed beyond the possibility of again outraging the peace of Europe, England will certainly never again deserve to have heroes such as those who have fought and bled at Waterloo, for this his present overthrow. The lives of the brave men who fell on that memorable day will have been absolutely thrown away by a thoughtless country, the grand object obtained by their valour will have been frustrated, and we shall do little less than insult over their remains, almost before they have ceased to bleed. But Fortune, seconding their undaunted efforts, has put it in our power to do far otherwise.

Captain Sartorius of the *Slaney* frigate, arrived yesterday with despatches from Captain Maitland of the *Bellerophon*, confirming all the antecedent accounts of Buonaparte's surrender, with various other details, and closing them by their natural catastrophe—his safe conveyance to England. He is, therefore, what we may call, here. Captain Sartorius delivered his despatches to Lord Melville, at Wimbledon, by whom their contents were communicated to Lord Liverpool, at his seat at Coombe Wood; summonses were immediately issued for a Cabinet Council to meet at 12 o'clock; what passed there was, of course, not suffered to transpire; our narrative must therefore revert to the *Slaney* frigate, and the accounts brought by her. She had been sent forward by Captain Maitland, to Plymouth, with the despatches announcing that Buonaparte was on board the *Bellerophon*, with a numerous suite. But it was the intention of Captain Maitland himself, to proceed to Torbay, and not land his prisoners until he had received orders from Government.

Buonaparte's suite, as it is called, consists of upwards of forty persons, among whom are Bertrand, Savary, Lallemand, Grogau, and several women. He has been allowed to take on board carriages and horses, but admission was denied to about fifty cavalry, for whom he had the impudence to require accommodation. This wretch has really lived in the commission of every crime so long that he has lost all sight and knowledge of the difference that exists between good and evil, and hardly knows when he is doing wrong, except he be taught by proper chastisement. A creature—who ought to be greeted with a gallows as soon as he lands—to think of an attendance of fifty horsemen! He had at first wanted to make conditions with Captain Maitland, as to his treatment, but the British officer very properly declared that he must refer him upon this subject to his Government.

When he had been some time on board, he asked the Captain what chance two large frigates, well manned, would have with a seventy-four. The answer, we understand, which he received to this inquiry, did not give him any cause to regret that he had not risked his fortune in a naval combat with the relative forces in question. By the way, we should

not have been surprised if he had come into an action with the two frigates, and then endeavoured to escape in his own, and leave the other to her fate. It has been the constant trick of this villain, whenever he has got his companions into a scrape, to leave them in it and seek his own safety by flight. In Egypt, in the Moscow expedition, and at Waterloo, such was his conduct.

PROBLEMS AND EXERCISES

[Black numbers in brackets refer to the numbers of the extracts]

264. What light does this extract throw on (1) the mercantile system ; (2) the wars subsequent to Walpole's fall ; (3) the divisions of English classes and interests at this time ? (231)

265. Read Macaulay's Essay on Clive and say whether you think he has founded his account of Plassey on this letter. (232)

266. Write a short abstract of the policy suggested by Clive to Pitt. (233)

267. How far was this policy subsequently carried out ? (233)

268. What criticisms would Burke have made upon this letter ? Write a portion of a speech by him in which they are expressed. (233)

269. Read the orders issued by Wolfe on September 12, and say how far you share General Townshend's opinion about Wolfe's generalship. (234, 235)

270. How far did the actual movements of the troops before Quebec carry out Wolfe's orders issued on September 12 ? (234)

271. Compare the orders issued by Wolfe with the letter sent to Pitt ten days earlier. What light does the comparison throw on the extreme measures adopted by Wolfe ? (234, 235)

272. Compare the different letters received by Pitt from commanding officers in 1759, and estimate the anxieties that he must have felt during this year. (233, 235)

273. What do you gather from this article as to the character of the House of Commons and its need for reform ? (236)

274. Does Wilkes rightly estimate Frederick's views on the Treaty of Paris ? (236)

275. Write a reply in a Government newspaper to this attack. (236)

276. From Walpole's letter what do you gather was the real importance of the Wilkes case ? (237)

277. Did the Government respond to this appeal ? (238)

278. Tabulate in different columns the arguments used by Burke and Chatham. (238, 239)

279. Are Chatham's arguments all sound, and are they all acted upon in the British Empire to-day ? (239)

280. What might have been the ministry's reply to Chatham's speech ? (239)

281. What point in the dispute is emphasised in this letter ? (240)

282. Make a brief abstract of the essential points in the Declaration of Independence. How far were the statements contained in it justified? (241)

283. How far are Washington's statements (a) exaggerated, (b) justified by his circumstances? (242)

284. What circumstances had forced Francis upon Hastings? (243)

285. Would this state of things have been possible after Pitt's India Act of 1784? (243)

286. Criticise and comment on the king's speech. (244)

287. Are there any important factors omitted in this criticism? (245)

288. Can any justification be offered for Hastings? (246)

289. Make a list of the questions that Burke ought to have put to himself before making accusations against Hastings on the strength of evidence such as Colonel Champion's letter. (246)

290. What is the historical value of letters such as those written to his wife by Hastings in 1784, in view of the accusations made against him? (247)

291. Compare the speeches of Burke and Fox against Mr. Hastings on June 1, 1786. Which seems to you (1) to exaggerate most; (2) to show the greater ignorance of Eastern affairs and the nature of Orientals? (248, 249)

292. How do the wages, the length of the working day, and the ages of the workers in the second half of the eighteenth century compare with those customary at the present day. (250, 251)

293. Point out the differences which strike you most in earnings and prices between 1769-71 and 1793-5, as shown by Young and Eden. (250-255)

294. What signs do you find in these extracts of the progress of the Industrial Revolution? (250-255)

295. Why has the value of oak fallen since 1793? (253)

296. What parts of these narratives would have been anachronisms in the second half of the nineteenth century? Give reasons in each case. (250-255)

297. Compare the wages of labourers in 1795 with those current in the fourteenth century, and making allowance for the difference in the value of money, estimate the relative prosperity of the working classes in both centuries. (99, 107, 255)

298. Does this extract illustrate any effect of the war on England? (255)

299. Make a short abstract of Captain Berry's narrative. (256)

300. From the narrative make a sketch-map of the Battle of the Nile. (256)

301. How far does the policy suggested in this letter for the British in India agree with that outlined by Clive in his letter to Pitt in 1759? (233, 258)

302. How far does the criticism of Asiatic policy in this memorandum apply to the conditions of diplomacy during the Hundred Years' War ? (258)

303. Give a brief account in untechnical language of Nelson's memorandum before Trafalgar. (259)

304. How far did the Battle of Trafalgar as described by Admiral Collingwood resemble the plan for the battle suggested in Nelson's memorandum ? (259-261)

305. How far is the plan of the attack on p. 477 justified by either Nelson's memorandum or Collingwood's despatch ? (259-261)

306. Compare Nelson's memorandum on Trafalgar with Wellington's memorandum on Torres Vedras. What conclusions can you draw as to the qualities of the respective commanders for leadership ? (259-265)

307. Does Nelson's memorandum seem to you to be clear ? In what respects do you think it might be better expressed ? (259)

308. What was Napoleon's object in issuing this decree ? (262)

309. How far were all the clauses necessary for the attainment of his object ? Could any of them be omitted ? (262)

310. How far was Napoleon in a position to enforce the decree ? (262)

311. What effect was the decree likely to have on countries other than England ? (262)

312. Can you account for the rise in price of the seats in the House ? What was the effect of a new supply of rich purchasers on (1) political parties, (2) social life ? (263)

313. Is it still as difficult for an independent member to gain admission to the House of Commons ? If so, are the reasons the same ? (263)

314. Suggest reasons why Emancipation was not granted till 1829. (264)

315. What is the importance of this memorandum in the history of the Peninsular War ? (265)

316. Make a brief abstract of the memorandum. (265)

317. (a) With the aid of the map on p. 671, draw a plan to illustrate this memorandum, inserting by conjecture the places that are not given on the map. (b) With the aid of an Atlas draw a complete sketch-map of the operations suggested.

318. What light does this memorandum throw on Wellington's success as a general ? (265)

319. Do any of the instructions to Colonel Fletcher seem to you unnecessary ? Would a commander-in-chief issue a memorandum of this kind at the present day ? (265)

320. State briefly the reasons given by Wellington for his inability to forecast the enemy's operations. (266)

321. Make a *precis* for the perusal of the Earl of Liverpool of the whole of the document, taking care (1) to present the information

so that it can be seen at a glance ; (2) to omit nothing that is essential. (266)

322. What light does the despatch throw on (1) Napoleon's generalship ; (2) the condition of the French army in the Peninsula ? (266)

323. How far does this despatch present the same characteristics as the memorandum for Colonel Fletcher ? (266)

324. Is the plan of the Battle of Waterloo on p. 491 justified by Wellington's despatch ? (267)

325. Give a brief account of the battle. (267)

326. Make a list of actions by Napoleon which account for the tone of this article. (268)

327. How far do you consider the attitude adopted towards Napoleon by the *Times* justifiable ? (268)

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